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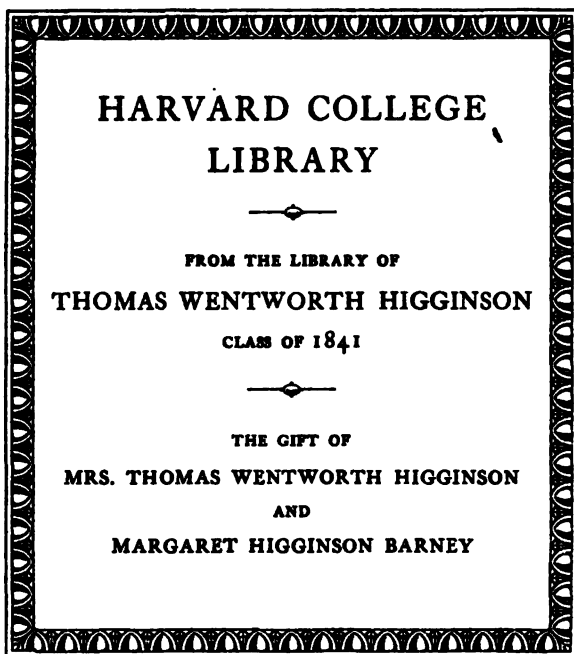
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M E M O I R S
O F
MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,
D U K E O F S U L L Y,
PRIME MINISTER TO
H E N R Y T H E G R E A T.

C O N T A I N I N G
The History of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH,
and his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Translated from the FRENCH, by the Author of the
F E M A L E Q U I X O T E.

To which is added,
The TRYAL of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of
H E N R Y t h e G R E A T.

I N F I V E V O L U M E S.

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V O L. IV.

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A S U M M A R Y

O F T H E

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M E M O I R S

MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK XXI.

THE uneasiness I suffered from the king's relapse into doubts and suspicions of my conduct encroached upon part of that time I used to devote entirely to the administration of the finances; but it never lessened my attention to the duties of my several employments. I laboured this year to prove the alienations and usurpations that had been made upon the crown lands, and to clear exactly all the pensions upon the tailles, gabelles, decimes, aids, and other parts of the revenue; as well as all the debts contracted either by the king, or by the cities, counties, and communities. Upon calculating these sums, I found that the alienations, pensions, and debts, from the time they were first settled and contracted to the present year, had cost the kingdom above an hundred and fifty millions*. It is still more extraordinary, that all the

1605.

* "Nothing less than the insurmountable courage of the duke of Sully was sufficient to retrieve the disorders of the revenue, by disincumbering the mortgaged crown lands from a charge of an hundred millions, by paying off some, and lessening others of the debts of the crown, &c. He always seconded the king in the glorious design of easing his people."

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money

1605. money arising from those taxes with which the state was overburdened, and in appearance no advantages gained by them, had for the most part been either usurped by those persons who were at first employed in the verification of them, or divided, sold, and alienated by them to others. The king would not believe this; but I made it plain, by means of two papers which fell into my hands: the first was, a list of those persons who had been concerned in the farm of the salt, during the lease of Champigny and Noel de Here: the number amounted to twenty, from Paris, the court, and even the council, and each had from fifty thousand livres to one hundred and fifty thousand crowns a-piece, the whole amounting to nine millions seven hundred thirty-eight thousand livres: the other paper, dated October 27, 1585, is an agreement between the superintendant D'O and those who farmed the salt, for a fifth part: D'O prevailed upon Antony Faschon, a notary, to be security for that whole sum to the farmers before mentioned.

By the same practices his majesty was defrauded of almost all the revenue arising from the aids and *parties casuelles*. Gondy had prevailed with Incarville, and the other members of the council with whom he shared, to have that money assigned to him, for the payment of some debts which he pretended were due to him from the king. Difficult as it was to find out these frauds and connivances, I made such strict enquiries, that I discovered three millions that were to come to the treasury. As it was merely with a view to relieve the people, that I thus from time to time stripped the usurpers of money that did not belong to them, in proportion to my discoveries, I made very considerable abatements in the king's name upon the taille, that perpetual source of abuses and vexations of all kinds, as well

Political Essay on Commerce, ch. 19. M. Claudius de L'Isle speaks of him in the same manner, and with the greatest encomiums, in the Abridgment of his Universal History, vol. V. p. 501.

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in the assessment as collection: it is greatly to be wished, though hardly to be hoped for, that one day or other the fund of this part of the king's revenue may be wholly changed*.

* These abuses and vexations are so flagrant and apparent, that our kings and their ministers have frequently attempted to find some remedy for them, by entirely changing the form of this branch of the revenue of France; but the difficulties the author speaks of have always intervened, and rendered their endeavours fruitless. However, one attempt has been made in our days, which seemed to promise a more happy success, though hitherto its progress has not been very rapid: I will take the liberty of explaining the nature of it here.

An unhappy prejudice prevails in this kingdom, and I believe in all monarchical governments, which we cannot be too solicitous to destroy; the minds of the people being thereby kept in a perpetual state of distrust of every thing undertaken by their sovereign. From this diffidence alone great part of the same mischievous effects arise, which an absolute disobedience could produce. The prejudice I mean is, that the good of the people is never the motive of the actions of kings; but that, on the contrary, no changes are made in their situation, but such as tend to render them more miserable.

It is impossible but so considerable a change as is proposed to be made in the *taille*, must, from its own nature, be subject to great difficulties. Now I apprehend it will not be sufficient that these difficulties have been overcome in the minds of the few who have formed and perfected this scheme, but they must also be cleared up to those whom it is necessary to employ in the execution of it; for

the manner of executing a work of this nature is in no degree analogous to that in which a building may be erected: the latter being effected by the mere mechanical co-operation of the hands of the workmen with the design of the architect; whereas to carry on and complete the former, it is absolutely necessary that the nature of it should be as clearly conceived by those who are to put it in execution, as by those who formed the plan. But two things stand in opposition to this, which it will become necessary to remove, the one by the means of information, the other by punishment; these are, the want of knowledge, and the want of diligence in the subaltern officers; the latter making them disobey the orders of their superiors, and the former, though their intention be ever so good, occasioning them to execute every thing wrong.

This reason alone would be sufficient to prove, that what relates to the general receipt of the *taille proportionnelle*, ought not to be entrusted to the assessors and other officers of the intendants of the finances; I dare not say, to the intendants themselves, and those acting in immediate subordination to them, who are generally taken by them at random, out of the officers of the police, or the revenue; and who having other business of their own, cannot spare the time necessary for the other: but as artificers are sent for from the metropolis, when any work is to be performed exceeding the capacity of common workmen; so the council ought to chuse and appoint, for the management of the general receipts, commissioners of

1605.

I place the gabelle after the taille. I never thought any thing more capricious and tyrannical, than to oblige a private man to buy up more salt than he is willing or able to use, and then hinder him to sell

integrity and capacity, sufficiently authorised, and perfectly instructed in the nature of their business, and who should be allowed all the time and expences that are requisite. If they are too much hurried, part of the remarks necessary for them to make on the different particulars of the business of the provinces will escape their observation; and if their salaries are ill paid, or not to be received by them without difficulties, necessity may induce them to betray their trust. This important work certainly demands all possible attention.

When one considers how powerful an influence the bonds of parentage, friendship, society, or even mere neighbourhood, have on mankind; how strongly they are affected by different interests, as well personal as social; the fear of displeasing, the desire of obliging, the ambition of being honoured and caressed by their countrymen, the dependance on a superior, who, according to his caprice, can make his dependant sensible of his superiority, by depriving him of his office, or by unjust reprimands; and the innumerable other motives which tie up a man's hands in the midst of his family and countrymen; a thousand reasons will appear against employing the ordinary officers in the business of the new taille. This assertion is confirmed by the testimony of several persons, who having with great application considered what were the designs of the council, in constituting this kind of operation, and afterwards kept a watchful eye on the manner in which it daily appears to be executed by the officers in their several districts, have with great concern found, that, out of

fifty of these officers, there is perhaps not one whose manner of executing his business does not render the new method more odious than the old.

These motives and these difficulties, a perfect knowledge of M. de Vauban's plan, the small difficulty there was in establishing it when trial was made of it, the happiness those few parishes still continue to enjoy which have found the means of preserving it amongst them, the experience every day furnishes that the dixieme (which in its own nature is but a species of the dixme) has every possible advantage over the taille and other impositions; all these, I say, must convince every judicious man, that it will be found absolutely necessary to recur to the establishment of the royal dixme, as being of all methods the most simple, the least expensive, and the least burdensome to the people; and that when it was proposed by this able and virtuous patriot, it was not received with all the regard it merited. The maxim, that enabling the people to live at their ease will endanger their revolting, is as false as it is cruel. It most certainly is also the interest of the people, if well understood, that the king should be perfectly acquainted with the true value of what they possess, and consequently the real strength of his kingdom; that, without regard to exemptions or any unjust privileges, all his majesty's subjects should be equally taxed; and that commerce and industry should meet with all possible encouragement. As to any further reflections which may be made on this matter, we will refer to that excellent work itself, composed by M. Vauban, and intitled, *Dixme Royale*, &c.

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the overplus. I once expressed my sentiments of this practice freely to the king, who desired me to give him a circumstantial memoir upon it; as for example, the prime cost of the salt at the salt-pits, of the expences till it was sold, of its distribution into granaries, and other questions relating to it: his majesty did not tell me what use he intended to make of this memoir. I drew it up with the utmost expedition, and as near the truth as I was able; for, on account of the reasons I there gave, it was hardly possible to fix the true value of things. However, this memorial produced no consequences, every thing remained in the same state as before; which shews how difficult it is to reform abuses, which the ignorance, precipitancy, and short-sightedness of those antients who are proposed to us as infallible guides, have introduced into the first regulations, even when other imposts, far more reasonable, such as the tithes and entries, seem both to point out the way, and make it easy*.

The debts contracted by the provinces, town-houses, and corporations, were not less troublesome to the king than his own: I was continually soli-

* It is well known what is the net produce to the king of the gabelle, or salt duty, after all expences paid; and it is not, consequently, difficult to discover, to what those expences amount on each minot of salt. Why should not the king at once take the price of each minot of salt on the first sale, and at the salt pits themselves? Why should not the same be done in the case of the aids? This question, simple as it is, has been asked long ago. The cardinal of Richelieu, in this respect, following the opinion of his predecessor in the ministry, *Test. Politique*, part II. chap. ix. § 7. *Preface*, the author of the *Essay on Commerce*, ch. v. and many other able politicians after him, unanimously pronounce sentence against an impost

like this, not only burdensome from the manner in which it is levied, but becoming still more unjust, from the unequal manner in which it is assessed. It is true, they perceive great difficulties in altering it; but this alteration being once made, one of the principal sources of the ease, and at the same time of the opulence, of the nation, would be opened thereby. The cardinal de Richelieu, who thus speaks of it, adds, that he had found, from the most knowing amongst the superintendants of the finances, that the produce of the duty on salt, if levied at the pits, would be equal to what the king of Spain receives from the Indies. See also on this subject the *Dixime Royale* of M. de Vauban.

1605. citing him to call on me to review and settle them, in the same manner as I had done the others; I prevailed at last, and his majesty left me the choice of what measures I thought most likely to attain this end. The commissioners I named for this purpose were selected from among those persons, whom I knew to be most faithful, and capable of the greatest application to business, in the sovereign courts, among the masters of requests, the treasurers of France, and other officers; but as this work could not go on so expeditiously as the former, I shall defer giving an account of it till I come to relate the effects it produced.

And here a reflection occurs to me, not more common than just, which is, that regularity and œconomy must certainly have infinite resources; for notwithstanding the ordinary expences of the state, and the extraordinary ones his majesty was at in his kingdom; notwithstanding that three or four millions were sent every year out of the kingdom to be distributed in foreign countries; notwithstanding the ruinous and exhausted condition in which the king, at his accession to the throne, found France, his finances, and his treasury, and many more difficulties almost insurmountable; yet the government had already an appearance of opulence and strength, which banished all remembrance of its former indigence. Could it be possible for any person to imagine ten years before, that in 1605. the king would find himself as rich as he really was; if they reflected, that the sums which were demanded of him when he was acknowledged peaceable possessor of the crown, and those that were owing from his exchequer, with all the interest and arrears, did not amount to less than three hundred and thirty millions; and that all which could be paid of this enormous sum, such as the mere debts, should really be done; and such measures taken with regard to the pensions and assignments, that they should be regularly paid, without exhausting the treasury, or in-

incurring the least inconvenience? Yet all this was actually effected. And probably the reader has not yet found any thing in these Memoirs so interesting as the following account in gross, of the particular sums which made up the whole. 1605.

There was due to queen Elizabeth at the time of her demise, for ready money lent to Henry in his necessities, advanced by her to the German troops and the army sent into Bretany, as well as for all the other sums to which the maintenance of those supplies that Henry was furnished with by the English, amounted; consisting of men, vessels, and provisions, for the siege of Dieppe, and that of Rouen, and during the war with the league; the sum of seven millions three hundred and seventy-eight thousand, and eight hundred livres: To the Swiss Cantons, for their services and their pensions, comprehending the interest due upon them; thirty-five millions eight hundred twenty-three thousand four hundred and seventy-seven livres and six sols: To the States-General, for money lent for pay, due to their troops, and for the furnishing vessels, powder, provision, ammunition, &c. during the league likewise; nine millions two hundred seventy-five thousand four hundred livres: To several French noblemen, colonels, and other officers, for service, pay, pensions, salaries, &c. during the civil wars; six millions five hundred and forty-seven thousand livres: To the farmers of every part of the revenue; to princes, cities, corporations, and private persons; comprehending the salaries, appointments, and pensions of the officers of the king's household, of the police, and the finances, and the civil magistrates, by settled accounts, twenty-eight millions four hundred and fifty thousand three hundred and sixty livres: To several private persons, according to their bills, rescriptions, receipts of the treasury, warrants, acquittals, patents, &c. almost all in the reign of Henry III. twelve millions two hundred and thirty-six thousand livres: Mortgages of the

1605. crown lands, compositions of pensions, where the principal being exorbitant was moderated by the creditors themselves, or deducted by his majesty; one hundred and fifty millions: Treaties made at the abolition of the league, which have been calculated already, thirty-three millions one hundred and fifty thousand nine hundred and twenty four livres*.

It is certain, as I have already observed, that upon the examination of these different demands upon the exchequer, many that were found to be unjust were totally annulled; others were compounded for with the creditors, and others were got clear of by several expedients, such as those upon the taxes, and the crown lands; but it may be easily imagined, that there remained a very considerable number of debts to be discharged: and here I must anticipate my story, for the sake of observing that good examples are not always efficacious. After Henry's death, those that were placed at the head of affairs, began their administration by destroying part of that economy, and abolishing many of those regulations, which he had established: this conduct, while it wore an appearance, and only an appearance of lenity and compassion, gave me reason to apprehend, that under the new reign, the national debt would be increased rather than lessened. But to quit this subject for the present, I shall content myself with barely mentioning here, as an eternal monument of Henry's glory, the flourishing condition into which the wisdom of his government had already brought France; both foreign and domestic payments were regularly made, and no hardship was sustained by any of his subjects, either from those payments, or the expences of the current year, though the king still continued to lay out very large sums in rebuilding, furnishing and adorning his palaces; repairing the old fortifications, and raising new ones; erecting public

* There is a miscomputation of the contracts of the league, as in about a million, in the Old Memoirs, as well in the account of the sum total; but this is of small moment.

build-

buildings *; re-edifying churches, hospitals, and convents; in funds for repairing pavements, moles, and bridges; in building a great number of gallies upon the Mediterranean; in filling his magazines and arsenals; redeeming the jewels of the crown, and purchasing more; and after all this, there still remained, at the end of the year, a considerable sum to deposit in the Bastile †.

But what is still more valuable than all these treasures, Henry acquired them not only without increasing the people's poverty, but even lightened the weight of their former burthen, as has been shewn in these Memoirs. He always regretted that the present situation of affairs would not permit him to carry this tenderness for his subjects farther; if the enemies of his government will not confess this

* Henry the Great caused the chapel of Fontainebleau to be painted and gilt, cut avenues through the forest, and in many other respects decorated this royal palace: he finished the Pontneuf, built the square and street Dauphin, repaired many streets in Paris, built wharfs, &c. Besides what is said in these Memoirs, see the detail of all those buildings, in the *Mercure François*, anno 1610, p. 404, *Le Grain's Decade*, b. viii. *Morizot*. chap. 46, and others who have written descriptions, or the history, of the antiquities of Paris, &c. No one is ignorant that this great prince, through the representations of the duke of Sully, repaired the highways in almost every quarter of the kingdom; built many causeways and bridges in places before impassable, especially in Berry, which might vie, in point of beauty, with the works of the Romans; but which, for want of being kept in order for a hundred and thirty years past, are at present in a very indifferent state: that, by his order, elms and other trees were planted along the sides of these roads, some of which are still growing in different places, where they are called

Rosnys: there are many ordinances made by this king on this subject, and some others, by which the converting arable land into pasture is forbidden, and vineyards are ordered to be stubbed up. These buildings and works, and this application to render his kingdom flourishing, contributed, perhaps as much as his military exploits, to procure Henry IV. the title of Great, which was conferred on him in his life-time, and, as it appears, about the year 1602.

† The share the duke of Sully had in all these things, gave him a just claim to the following singular elogium in the *Mercure François*, anno 1606, p. 101. "As he executed these offices and employments in a manner more for the benefit and emolument of the crown of France than any of his predecessors; all true Frenchmen readily acknowledged his merit in this respect, as well in the life-time of his majesty, as since his death: and though he could not escape the calumny of those who envied him, it must nevertheless be allowed, that he was the Joseph both of our king and of France."

truth,

1605. truth, if in their writings they have asserted the contrary, yet* it is absolutely certain, that plenty and affluence began now to be felt over the whole kingdom; the nobility and soldiery were delivered from their tyrants in the revenue; the peasant sowed and reaped in full security*; the artist enriched himself by his profession; the meanest tradesman rejoiced in his profits; and the nobleman himself improved his estates. Some examples of severity, which his majesty had been obliged to make, were so far from disturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom, that it was never more fully established, nor never more sincerely enjoyed; the licentiousness which had been corrected in the army, procured the people a real advantage, without doing any prejudice to the officer and soldier, who were paid with the utmost exactness, rewarded in proportion to their services, and esteemed, honoured, and caressed, as their merits and valour deserved. The medals which I presented as usual to his majesty, had a lilly shooting out a bud on each side, pointing to two stars which represented the polar stars, with these words, *Hi fines*. It is by actions like these, that a king may aspire to the glory of having accomplished this motto.

I shall not repeat here what I have said before, concerning the letters I received from Henry; I had so many this year, and on all sorts of subjects, the finances, trade, policy, that I shall not attempt to produce them: several of them contained orders for presents to different persons; thirty thousand livres to the queen for her new-year's gift; nine thousand livres to the countess of Moret†; fifteen hundred

* The affection this good prince bore to his people, appears from this saying of his, which has been preserved as a kind of tradition, That he would make the poorest peasant in his dominions able to eat flesh all the week long, and to put a fowl in his pot besides on Sundays.

† Jacqueline Du-Beuil. The king, towards the end of the preceding

year, had created her countess of Moret, she having revived the passion of love in his heart, which had, in a manner, died with his marchioness: he had also married her to a gentleman called Chanvalon. In L'Etoile's journal there are some anecdotes relating to this matter, but they are too licentious for us to repeat, anno 1604. Mademoiselle Du-Beuil or De Beuil, is represent-

livres

livres to the queen's bed-chamber women; and a like sum to be distributed by madame de Montglat, among the nurses of the king's children upon different occasions; four thousand to the family of the commandeur de Chastes; twelve hundred livres to Praslin; a like sum to Merens; three thousand livres to the count de Saint-Aignan, to indemnify him for the money he had expended on his father-in-law Montigny's company; two thousand four hundred livres to several pensioners in Burgundy, paid them by Hector Le-Breton his commissioner in that province; a pension of four thousand livres, to * Lognac, a protestant captain, in reward for his services; forty thousand livres, which his majesty thought a just restitution to Villars, saying, that this family had lost above six thousand livres of interest, since this sum became due to them; five hundred livres to the duke of Ventadour, who had advanced them for small expences, to shew, said Henry, that no one loses any thing by serving me; the sieur de Canisy received a like reimbursement; seventeen thousand one hundred and thirty-eight livres to La-Livre his apothecary: his majesty had been indebted to this man, ever since the year 1592, and was partly the cause of his ruin; for his creditors arrested him, and threw him into prison, but the king indemnified him for all; nine thousand five hundred and forty-one livres to John Sellier, a merchant of the city of

ed in the writings of that time, as a lady who was not on an equal footing with mademoiselle d'Entragues in point of beauty, but in recompence for this defect, her look expressed wit and penetration, her temper was extremely gay, and her conversation full of sprightliness, which qualifications Henry IV. greatly admired. The queen did not appear to take the same umbrage at this lady, or to have that aversion to her, as she shewed against the marchioness de Verneuil.

* This is not the person whom Henry III. employed to stab the duke of Guise, at the holding of the states at Blois. Having requested that prince to bestow a government on him as a recompence for the service he had done him, and his request being refused, he retired in discontent to Guienne, where very soon after he was pistolled by a gentleman in his neighbourhood, with whom he had a quarrel. Cayet's Chronol. Novenn. vol. I. b. i. p. 133.

Troyes,

1605. Troyes, who made this demand upon his majesty for a certain public building.

In this summary of expences, I do not include the hundred and fifty thousand livres given to the count of Soissons, of the edict of Greffes, and of another edict, creating a small tax upon salt in favour of the duke of Maienne, nor of many other gratuities and just payments; Zamet obtained of his majesty, the two offices of receivers at Rouen for two thousand crowns each; Henry caused the forest of L'Aigle to be divided by law, between him and the constable; but to prevent any dispute, he purchased the other part, and settled himself the time for cutting down the trees; he referred to his council, the offer that had been made him of twelve hundred thousand livres for the grant of an edict concerning the four deniers; he sent Nargonne, with his company, to guard the tower of Bouc, which he thought a place of great importance: but the duke of Mercœur, to whom this fortress belonged, raised some difficulties, which determined his majesty to treat with him for it, either by way of exchange, or by purchasing it.

Great part of the letters I received from this prince, turned upon his buildings, those of his new silk manufactures * especially, which he still carried on with the same ardour; his green-house in the Tuilleries, was the place he set apart for breeding the silk-worms, the eggs having been sent him from Spain, and he hastened the building of it for that purpose. I laid, by his order, the foundations of the new edifices for his tapestry weavers, in the horse market, which, requiring a larger extent of ground than could be procured, without encroaching a little upon a garden belonging to Montmagny,

* It appears also from the writings of that time, that a manufacturer of Provence called Serran, attempted to make stuffs of the finest parts of the bark of mulberry-trees: that the making of glass,

looking-glass plates, and exact imitations of pearls, and many other manufactures, which the celebrated M. Colbert has since carried to so great perfection, were then set on foot.

who

who opposed it strongly, the king ordered that he should be paid the sum he demanded for his ground, representing to him, however, that when the public utility was in question, an individual ought, on such occasions, to wave the consideration of his own particular interest. His majesty sent for Comans and La Planche, from other countries, and gave them the care and superintendence of these manufactures: the new directors were not long before they made complaints, and disliked their situation, either because they did not find the profits equal to their hopes and expectations, or, that having advanced considerable sums themselves, they saw no great probability of getting them in again. The king got rid of their importunity by referring them to me, commanding me to act in such a manner by them that they should suffer no loss, but likewise that their gains should not be too considerable.

The attention of this prince in conciliating the good-will of the neighbouring powers who might possibly engage in his great designs, appeared likewise in his letters, as well as in his whole conduct. Whether we consider his extreme solicitude to fulfil all the laws of civility, and all the forms of ceremony, the obliging manner in which he treated their ambassadors and envoys, the seasonable presents he made them, or what is a benefit still more considerable, the care he took to reconcile them amongst themselves, by determining their differences; and thus beginning, with respect to them, to exercise the office of the arbitrator of Europe. His majesty sent me a letter of compliment unsealed, which he thought himself obliged to write to the duchess des Deux-Ponts, commanding me to send it to her by one of my gentlemen, and with it a present of twelve or fifteen hundred crowns, at least; a favour which that princess acknowledged with great gratitude and respect, in the letter she wrote to him in return. The duke of Bar having consulted Henry about his designed marriage with the princess of Mantua, which

1605. which had been kept secret a long time, this prince took upon himself to give the duke of Mantua notice of it, and dispatched immediately a courier extraordinary to that court; though upon this article, he carried his œconomy so far, as to reproach his ambassador at Rome, for sending him couriers too frequently, and wrote to him to do so no more. The Venetian ambassador took leave of his majesty in November, and received from my hands a very considerable present: I likewise gave another to his secretary; nor did Guinterot the duke of Holstein's ambassador return less satisfied to his master; I shewed him the arsenal, and all the king's magazines; and that he might have a token to remember them by, I gave him, by his majesty's orders, one of his finest coats of arms to present to his master.

Clement the eighth, died* on the third or fourth of March this year. The news of his death was brought to France by a courier, whom my brother dispatched to the king then at Chantilly, and by letters from the French cardinals whom Henry had

* L'Etoile, who cannot be suspected of partiality when he speaks well of the Pope and the catholics, confirms whatever M. de Sully has said in different parts of these Memoirs in praise of Clement VIII. "A pacific Pope, says he, and a good Frenchman: even the protestants did not hate him, he having always treated them with great gentleness, beyond any of his predecessors, even so far as to grant them pass-ports to go and come freely to and from Rome, which was never done before by any Pope. When he died, and long before his death, he was nothing but a mass of corruption, having totally lost the use both of his limbs and understanding; even his hands being putrified and burst, in so much that when any one came to kiss his feet, which stunk as

"much as the rest of his body, they were obliged to hold up his hands, to enable him to give the benediction." Journal of the reign of Henry IV.

Peter Matthieu speaks of him with the highest praise, vol. II. b. iii. p. 328, and book iii. p. 696, as all the rest of our best writers also do, who find no fault with him, but for his being a little too much attached to his family. It was said of him, Clement VIII. was a good man, a good prelate, and a good prince; in opposition to his three predecessors, Pius V. Sixtus V. and Gregory XIII. the first of whom was said to be only a good prelate, the second only a good prince, and the third a good prelate and a good prince. Amelot de La Houfflaye, note 3, on the 31th of Cardinal D'Ossat's letters.

sent

sent to Rome the year before, and who were followed by cardinal Du-Perron, the end of the same year.

1605.

There having always been a great intimacy between this cardinal and myself, we corresponded by letters regularly, during the whole time that he continued on the other side of the Alps: he gave me notice of his arrival at Rome, in a letter dated the 28th of December, 1604, and wrote me another the 6th of February following. If he is to be believed, I had gained the friendship of the whole roman consistory, who could not help praising my conduct towards the clergy, and in every thing that concerned the affairs of the church. In cardinal Buffalo particularly, ever since the treaty we had managed together, I had a zealous panegyrist at Rome; after his departure from Paris, I had written him a long letter, which he shewed to every body, as valuing himself upon the sentiments he knew I entertained of him: I shall not repeat here those praises, too flattering to my vanity, with which this letter of Du-Perron's was filled; those I have mentioned were introduced with no other design, but to shew (what I thank heaven for) that I was never tainted with that bitter and furious zeal, which the difference of religion inspires. The change of mine was the subject of frequent conversations between the cardinals and Du-Perron, who all wished for it with equal ardour; cardinal Aldobrandin often declared that he never said mass without remembering me, the Pope expressed himself almost in the same terms to Du-Perron, when he was conducted to audience, by my brother: he had a long conversation with him concerning me, and particularly upon the means of working (what, in the language of Rome, was called) my conversion: it is indeed an extraordinary thing, that a minister cannot, from his own countrymen, obtain the same justice, which foreigners, who surely have no less reason to hate him, are capable of rendering to the disinterestedness of his conduct, and the rectitude of his intentions. Du-

Perron

1605. Perron concluded his letter with telling me, that he, no less earnestly than the other cardinals, wished to see me completely united to persons who esteemed and loved me so much, since I had not (these are his words) "more friends at Geneva, than at Rome."

My gratitude was equally engaged by the testimony he bore in favour of my brother, assuring me, that he had gained so strongly upon the affections of the Italians, that no Frenchman had, for an hundred years past, acquired an equal reputation in Italy *: he acknowledged himself highly obliged to my brother, for his politeness, in coming with an honourable train of the French and Roman nobility, to meet him, nine leagues from Rome.

The king had, in an especial manner, recommended it to the French cardinals, to have strict attention to the interest of the nation, in the approaching election of a pope †; and this injunction was again repeated to them, when he was informed by the arrival of another courier from Rome, on the 28th of March, that, according to all appearances, there would be high debates in the conclave, on account of the great number of candidates, each of whom indeed was worthy of the pontificate. However, these difficulties were so soon removed, that, on Friday the 1st of April, which was two days after the arrival of this courier, the holy see was filled by the cardinal de Médicis, otherwise called the cardinal of Florence, who took the name of Leo the eleventh. The choice falling upon a man related to the queen, and of the same name with her, was a certain testimony that his most christian majesty was well served by the Italian nation ‡.

* This commendation seems not at all extravagant. P. Matthieu, speaking of the services the count of Bethune did the king at Rome, calls him a man of great abilities for that court, vol. II. b. iii. p. 681. Siri every where speaks of him in the same manner.


† See the particulars of the two subsequent conclaves in Matthieu, ibid. 698, and other historians.

‡ "The making Leo XI. Pope," says Du-Plessis-Mornay, spightfully, cost the king 100,000 "crowns." Life of M. Du-Plessis-Mornay, b. ii. p. 305.

The king, when the news came to Paris, gave public demonstrations of his joy, which he was desirous should be as general as it was sincere. He wrote to me not to spare his ordinance, and to send orders to my government, and to every other part of the kingdom, to follow the example I should set them in Paris. Messieurs the bishop, and governor of Paris, the president Bellièvre, and the king's counsellors of parliament, the other bishops, and all persons in a public character, received orders to have *Te Deum* sung, and fireworks played off, in every place under their jurisdiction. It may be truly said, that never had the advancement of any person in the papal dignity been celebrated with greater magnificence. However, this could not prolong a moment the duration of Leo XI's pontificate, who lived but a few days afterwards, and probably was dead at the very time when these honours were paying him in France*.

His majesty was in some degree comforted for the loss of this Pope, by the person whom the conclave chose for his successor; this was Paul V. formerly cardinal Borgeſe: two things concurred to his election, which made it highly agreeable to his majesty, the favour the French nation shewed him by her cardinals, and his own personal merit, which rendered him worthy of that distinction, and which they hoped to see rewarded by a happy pontificate. Two cardinals thus successively placed by his most Christian majesty on the papal throne, left Europe no room to doubt of the high esteem he was in with the Italians: the king was sensible of it himself, and the extreme satisfaction it gave him was sufficiently seen by the orders he issued immediately after receiving the news of the new pontiff's advancement (which was on the 25th of May) to celebrate it with the same rejoicings as Leo the XI's had been, ex-

* He was taken ill on the 17th of April, on his return from the procession to S. John de Lateran, which is made on the new Pope's taking possession of his dignity, and died the 27th.

1605.  cept only, that no fireworks were played off; the reason his majesty gave for this omission, to those who might possibly be offended at it, was, that this piece of respect had been paid to the cardinal of Florence as an ally of the royal family: as to the rest, all was performed with the same splendor, and the king himself was present at the *Te Deum*, which he ordered to be sung at Fontainebleau. I received on this occasion three letters from his majesty of the same date, which were merely ceremonial upon my different offices, and as a person in a public character; he likewise addressed to the chancellor, Sillery, and to me, a discourse, in which he gave a relation in form of what had just passed in the conclave.

Paul V. did not disappoint the hopes that were conceived of his pontificate: the Roman council seemed to pursue exactly the same measures they had done under Clement VIII. Nothing was prescribed to Barberini, who was sent into France in the quality of nuncio, beyond what had been done to cardinal Buffalo; and he was ordered by cardinal Aldobrandini, and by his holiness likewise, to address himself only to me, in whatever affair he had to solicit. I know not what cardinal Buffalo (from whom this advice certainly came) could have said to my advantage, in preference to so many other persons, who carried, even to servility, their respect and attachment to the holy see. My brother, in a letter he wrote to me at that time, told me, I could not too highly acknowledge the obligations I was under to this cardinal, or repay with too much warmth of friendship, the regard and esteem he expressed for me.

This letter of Bethune's is dated November 12th; for he was still at Rome, although he had depended upon returning to France immediately after the Pope's installation; but some new orders which he had received detained him, and he did not return till several days after the date of this letter. His holiness so much regretted his being recalled, that he would

would have wrote to the king, to entreat he would continue him as ambaffador at Rome, if my brother had not prevented him. He had entirely got rid of that appearance of timidity, reserve, and perhaps coolness, which he had shewn at the beginning of his negotiation; and as soon as he was accustomed to the business transacted at the Roman court, had changed it into a wise and prudent confidence, from whence he drew all the success he could hope for, in those affairs which were intrusted to him. The Pope continued to pay him the highest honours, and gave orders, that he should be received, and treated with the most distinguishing marks of respect; in all the cities of his dominions through which he passed. All this I advance with so much the more freedom and security, although upon the faith of cardinal Du-Perron my friend, who thought himself obliged to write to me upon my brother's departure, as this cardinal gave the same account to the king, and represented to him that no one was better qualified than Bethune, for a place in the council for foreign affairs, in what regarded Italy; as he had a full and perfect knowledge of all that related to that country*.

In this letter Du-Perron thanked me, for having supported him with his majesty, against those who had endeavoured to disappoint him in his expectations of the post of great almoner, which had lately been promised to him; as also for some trifling services his brother had received from me: he added an article relating to La-Fin. This man, who has been mentioned in marechal Biron's process, had, by an effect of his natural levity of temper, left France, and embraced the protestant religion. The king, who observed him heedfully, as he did all who had once given room for suspicion, caused him to be

* Cardinal D'Ossat himself, tho', according to all appearances, far from being satisfied with M. de Sully's behaviour in regard to him, speaks in the most advantageous

terms of that ambaffador, in his letter to the king, of the 10th December, 1601, in that to M. de Villeroi, of the 2d December, 1602. and some others.

1605. stopped in Italy, and imprisoned in the tower of Nonne, La-Fin applied to cardinal Du-Perron, who had formerly been his friend, to procure him the favour of being carried into France and tried there, if it appeared that there was any just grounds for complaint against him, or if not, that he should be set at liberty; and Du-Perron intreated my interest with the king, in favour of La-Fin's request.

The letter, which, of all that I received from the other side of the Alps, deserves most notice, is that the Pope took the trouble to write to me, and of which, being very long, I shall only give the substance here. As in appearance the Pope wrote to me on the subject of my brother, he began with praising, in the highest terms, his conduct, his piety, and his behaviour, full of respect and deference for all the cardinals, and himself, before he was advanced to the pontificate. From this his holiness passed to the regret he felt, that the obstacles I raised to my conversion, hindered him from resigning himself as openly as he would otherwise have done to the friendship he had for me. His piety and his zeal furnished him with a thousand motives to persuade me to change my religion; he assured me, that if he was not withheld by the station he filled, he would, without hesitation, come into France, and labour himself to convert me: he proposed to my imitation the examples of the antient counts of Flanders, my ancestors, particularly that of Saint-Alpin de Bethune, for whom he had been told I had a great veneration: to these he added the examples of the first saints, and most illustrious kings of France; which naturally introduced the eulogium of the present king, and afterwards that of Clement VIII. on account of the services I had rendered this Pope, for which he thanked me with great warmth of affection, as well as for all the good offices which the apostolical legates and nuncios of his predecessors and his own had received from me. This brief, which was every where filled with pathetic exhortations to
change

change my religion, concluded with the most ardent prayers for that event. 1605.

I answered this obliging letter with all the respect and deference it deserved, without saying any thing upon the article of my change of religion: I was satisfied with praising the virtues and great qualities of his holiness, with assuring him of my profound respect for his person, my readiness to serve him, and ardent desire to be useful to him: my whole letter was filled with the most grateful acknowledgments for the sentiments he professed for me, and the most earnest wishes for his prosperity; and, without affecting my religion, I forgot no instance of respect due to the character of a sovereign prince, and to that in particular which a whole church gives to the Pope; and therefore did not scruple to make use of the expression of kissing his feet; which doubtless would have displeased my brethren the protestants. Paul V. upon his receiving this letter, said publicly, that it gave him more pleasure than any thing which had happened during his pontificate: he read it twice over successively, saying each time, that I had done him too much honour: he lavished many encomiums upon the style and turn of expression, and said, that my praises of him had robbed him of some of those he had designed to give me. He was eager to thank me by a second brief, if Du-Perron himself had not opposed an excess of kindness which might have produced some inconvenience to me. This cardinal was witness of the Pope's exclamations in favour of me; for my letter being written in French, he was sent for by his holiness to interpret it. Du-Perron still continued to reside in Rome, which drew him into very considerable expences; he observed to me, that, in the space of one year only, he had laid out above twenty thousand crowns, in the expences of his journies, his entry, the conclave, furniture, and habits for himself and his household; all which had reduced him to such necessity, that he intreated me to oblige the farmers of his abbey of

1605.

— Lire to pay him, they having refused to make their usual remittances, under pretence of an arret of council relating to the claims he had upon certain woods.

All the rest of Italy began to entertain the same favourable dispositions for France as the holy see, except the duke of Savoy, who was still influenced by the Spanish policy, as may be conceived by the new intrigues, carried on this year for the duke's interest, by a man named Chevalier. With regard to Spain, France still continued upon its former footing with her; they were at peace indeed, but that peace clouded with disgusts, and embittered by reciprocal complaints.

The negotiations which had commenced between the Spanish court and the states of the United Provinces not succeeding, hostilities were renewed as soon as the season permitted them to take the field. The king of Spain sent to the Swiss Cantons, to demand a passage through their territories for the troops he sent into Flanders, that they might avoid taking their rout by Pont de Grésin, which would have greatly retarded their march. To obtain the grant of this request, he told them, that his troops should pass through their states by twenty at a time, and that their number should not exceed two thousand. He added, however, another thousand afterwards. The king, when he received this advice from Caumartin, believing that Spinola, who was to command their troops, would take the same rout, thought it would not be impossible for prince Maurice, at the head of a party of French scouts, to seize upon this general's person, "which, said Henry, "will be worth one victory." He wrote to me to communicate this hint to Aërsens, and through him to the prince of Orange; but I was informed, almost immediately afterwards, by a Spanish courier, who passed through Paris in his way to Flanders, that Spinola had altered his rout, and would arrive in Paris in three or four days: which produced such a change of measures, that his majesty thought himself

himself obliged to render his passage as secure to him as if he had passed through the French territories. Spinola requesting the honour of an audience of his majesty, this prince believed that he had orders to make him some new proposals. This, however, was an inference not made by me; and when Henry mentioned it to me, I replied, that, Spinola, thinking the road through Paris the shortest as well as the securest, he conceived it his duty at the same time to pay his respects to his majesty; and that I was persuaded he would talk to him only of general things, though perhaps he wished to have it otherwise believed in Flanders: accordingly it fell out just as I had imagined.

Spinola divided his army into two bodies; he gave the command of one to count de Buquay*, with orders to pass the Rhine with it between Cologne and Bonne, where he afterwards threw up intrenchments to hinder other troops from attempting this pass. Whatever was the design of the Spaniards by this work, it ought to have roused the German princes from their lethargy. The other body Spinola led towards Friesland, where the allied army followed him a long time. The report which was spread in July of this general's death, was no better founded than that of his being beaten, which prevailed some time afterwards. It was foreseen that he had a design upon Linghen, altho' this was a very strong place; and accordingly he marched thither and invested it. By means of a mole which was cut by prince Maurice, Spinola was himself besieged in his quarters, and his trenches laid under water; so that it was believed he would be obliged to abandon his enterprize; in which case it might be expected, that the prince would besiege and carry the fort Patience. Yet, notwithstanding this, Linghen surrendered in September, which was all that was done this campaign. Spinola was, on the 24th of

* Charles de Longueval, count of Buquay.

1605. September, still before the place he had taken, and had carried his views no farther than to put himself out of a condition to be attacked. The troops of both parties were greatly diminished; prince Maurice, on his side, threw succours into Covoërdën and Breton, which covered and secured Friesland. Du-Terrail, in the mean time, at the head of some supplies sent him by Spinola, attacked and surpris'd Bergen-op-zoom, but he was repuls'd with some loss.

This man was a French officer, and one of the seditious cabal; he thought proper to retire to Antwerp, and offer'd his service to the archdukes. His majesty was not so much offended with this procedure, although he had promised him, in a letter he wrote expressly for that purpose, that he would do nothing contrary to his duty, as he was for his having corrupted Dunnes, the younger Nangis, and Chef-boutonne, who it was reported were preparing to go thither with a whole company. A footman belonging to Du-Terrail was arrested in Auvergne, whither he had brought some packets, but all of little consequence. He endeavoured to prevail upon his wife to come to him in Antwerp, by highly extolling the friendship and civility he received there. The same example had been set by Saint-Dennis-Mailloc, and some other gentlemen, who had offer'd their service to the archdukes; in which they certainly neither acted like good politicians, nor dutiful subjects.

This was but one of the least causes of complaint which Henry had against Spain. The support which that crown gave to the French mutineers; the part she had in their meetings at Limosin and Perigord; the enterprises which, in concert with them, she meditated upon the towns and coasts of Provence; were grievances of a higher nature; and, all well weigh'd together, his majesty was of opinion, that he ought to spare himself the trouble of making them useless reproaches, or of doing himself justice by

by such means as would have given the Spaniards reason to reproach him in their turn : he was even more solicitous about the strict observation of the last agreements he had made with them on trade, than, after such a conduct, they could have expected. Captain Yvon Baudelonis brought a Spanish vessel into Rochelle, which the commander alledged was Dutch, and belonged to the prince of Orange : the Rochellers thought it their duty to acquaint the king with it, who, in his answer, praised their conduct, quoted to them the article of the treaty on that subject, which was in express words, and caused the same satisfaction to be given to Spain which her ambassadors could have demanded.

The council of Madrid, struggling between their natural haughtiness on one side, and a consciousness of their own weakness and the need they had of our assistance on the other, knew not in what manner to behave to us : the same spirit actuated them in all their proceedings, and made them, at one time, endeavour to disunite us from the States ; at another, complain vehemently, that under pacific appearances, with respect to them, we acted as their real enemies. They afterwards affected a strict correspondence with England : but none of their artifices succeeded. The king, secure in the secret knowledge of his own strength, despised their threats ; and myself in particular was too well acquainted with the disposition of the king of England, to believe that he would ever do more for them than he could be prevailed upon to do for us.

They were, besides, upon such ill terms with his Britannic majesty, that it was not possible for them long to save these appearances ; for as they never staid a considerable time in any country, without giving proofs of that spirit of cabal which they exercised throughout all Europe, James had notice of some of their secret practices in his dominions, which inflamed him with rage against them. Indeed there needed no less than such a discovery to recal this prince

1605. prince to his first engagements with me, which had suffered some injury during the following years, by that fatal prejudice in favour of pacific measures which I have already mentioned, or rather by a real timidity. Beaumont, whose embassy was at its close, was surprised to find James resume this subject himself, and talk to him in terms very different from those he commonly made use of. He gave him letters for Henry and for me, and likewise a verbal charge, that when he rendered an account of his negotiation to the king of France, he should insist particularly upon that article which regarded the succession to the Empire, which was what he dwelt upon most in his letter to Henry: he exhorted him to join from that moment with him in endeavours to restore to the electors, before the death of the present Emperor, the freedom of election, with all their other rights; and effectually to exclude the son, brother, or most distant kinsman of his Imperial majesty, from a possibility of gaining the empire, by preventing any one of them from being named king of the Romans. And, lastly, to have it decreed, that the person, whoever he might be, that was to succeed the Emperor, should renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Bohemia.

Beaumont, when at his return to Paris he executed the commission given him by his Britannic majesty, told the king that he had a letter from this prince for me, which, as I was then at Châtelleraut, his majesty opened. He was desirous of trying if this new policy would find any favourers at Court; and for that purpose he communicated this scheme of king James with regard to the Empire to two or three of his ministers, but with some reserve, and by way of consulting them upon it, taking care not to give them any hint of his great designs. On this occasion Henry found no flatterers: there was not one of them who did not give a proof that he was capable of opposing a scheme which appeared to him unreasonable and unjust. Henry stopped there, and waited

waited for my return, to examine it more closely with me. But as this conversation turned upon many particulars, which appeared of such consequence to his majesty, that he made me swear not to discover it to any person whatever, that oath obliges me now to silence*.

Henry, when he gave me my letter from king James, read it to me himself: his Britannic majesty there informed me of the proposal which he had enjoined Beaumont to make to the king, and represented to me the interest I had in supporting it, in a manner which, tho' general, had nevertheless so direct a view to the reflections I had made to him on this subject, that I could not doubt but he would, from time to time, be more convinced of the reasonableness and utility of that plan of policy I had sketched out to him. I shall not repeat the assurances of friendship and esteem with which this letter was filled. Beaumont was commissioned to make me many more in his name: neither was he forgot. King James bestowed so many praises upon his personal merit, and his skill in business, as raised him

* I do not know whether the uncertainty wherein this prince for some time remained, was not at least a part of this secret: whether he ought not to get himself declared Emperor: he even thought it necessary to submit this design to the examination of his three ministers, whom he called together to give their opinions on it; as appears from the 2474th vol. of the MSS. in the king's library, where their deliberations on this matter are related at large. It is remarkable, that those three, scarcely in any one instance, happened to be of the same sentiments: in the present case, one advised him to get himself elected Emperor; the second dissuaded him from it; and the third (more favourable to the house of Austria) would have persuaded him to act in favour of the archduke Matthias. "The king, adds the author, who had attentively

"listened to this last, rose up, and
 "opening the window to let in the
 "fresh air, raised his eyes and
 "hands towards heaven, and said
 "aloud, May it please God to
 "form and create in my heart the
 "resolves I ought to take on what
 "you have said, and men shall
 "execute them; Adieu, gentlemen, I must take a walk.
 "Thus ended this conference."
 Though this project did not absolutely clash with his grand design, there is nevertheless a reasonable foundation for doubting whether he actually ever formed it: it is highly probable the whole was only a feint, concerted between him and the duke of Sully, to put his council on a wrong scent, in regard to the great armaments he was making: the count of Beaumont, his ambassador at London, according to Siri, Ibid. 166, endeavoured to inspire him with this notion.

highly

1605. highly in Henry's esteem. If this prince had been still ignorant of the confidence his Britannic majesty placed in me, his letter was sufficient to convince him of it: he indeed appeared much pleased with it, and commanded me to cultivate his friendship carefully; a command which I received with great cheerfulness.

We have now seen the political state of almost all Europe except Germany; there are perhaps some observations still to be made upon the several Germanic cantons; but that little which is necessary to be known with respect to our affairs, will mix itself imperceptibly with what I have to say of the seditious cabal in France. This article will lead us into sufficient length, as it was the occasion of my journey into Poitou this year, and of his majesty's to Limosin; which took up four of the finest months of the season.

The reader has doubtless, ere this, reflected upon the extravagance of an association, composed indifferently of Roman catholics, and protestants; the Roman catholics Spaniards, and the protestants, French. A party acting upon interests so opposite, that nothing but continual violence could conciliate them; a body of which the duke of Bouillon was the head, and Spain the soul. In this slight view it appears so singular and monstrous, that the reader cannot apprehend any dangerous consequences from a confederacy so ill sorted. I indeed had always the same opinion of it: but as all factions which include repeated acts of disobedience against the sovereign cannot but be very prejudicial to the state, even supposing that they are disappointed in their principal aim, yet it must be acknowledged, that good policy requires we should make use of every method to hinder them from forming, or when formed to ruin them: the rebels were in this case; they had neither prudence in their resolutions, nor much appearance that they would ever produce any worthy to be feared. However, as it was not fit to suffer

suffer such attempts to be made with impunity, his majesty neglected none of the informations he received, and which this year were more numerous than ever. Murat, lieutenant-general of Riom, wrote to me the beginning of March, that he had very lately been informed of some important particulars; for the truth of which although he could not answer, yet he thought himself obliged to communicate them to me; and that I might be better able to judge of them, the same person from whom he received them was the bearer of his letter. 1605.

As soon as I began to examine this man, I perceived, from the first questions I asked him, that his deposition would involve so many persons of the highest quality at court, that without going any farther, I judged it of consequence enough to require that his majesty should be present at his examination. The king was then at Saint-Germain; I wrote to him, and in cyphers which he only understood, marked the names of these persons. The king came to Paris immediately, to examine this informer himself, who assured him, that all those persons (and he named them) held correspondences in the chief cities on the coasts of Provence and Languedoc; all which he specified, namely, Toulon, Marseilles, Narbonne, Bayonne, Blaye, and some others; that the count of Auvergne was upon the point of making an attempt upon Saint-Flour when he was arrested; that all these secret practices were favoured by Spain, and the money distributed for that purpose, furnished by this crown. According to this man, the conspirators had already received several thousand pistoles from the Catholic king, expected still more, and even depended upon some supplies of troops; which however, he said, would not be sent, until they had openly declared themselves enemies of the state, by the invasion of those places before mentioned, and of many other maritime forts.

The

1605. The truth of these accusations appeared very doubtful, from a circumstance which it is apparent did not escape Murat; and this was, that the informer had been a domestic of Calvairac*, in whose house he might indeed have heard some conversation on these subjects: but why advance as certain, what had been there proposed as merely possible? He had received some bad usage from his master, and doubtless the desire of revenge stimulated him to this proceeding: what cannot that motive do, joined to the hope of gain? which it was well known was so much the greater, as the depositions which were made, appeared of more consequence to his majesty. There needed not so many considerations to induce him to aggravate matters beyond the truth.

I can, with much more certainty, relate what passed in the synods and other particular assemblies, which were held by the protestants in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, and the neighbouring provinces. In these assemblies, a spirit of revolt and mutiny always prevailed: among other very bold proposals, it passed by a plurality of voices, that his majesty's permission should be asked to call a general assembly of the protestants, without explaining to him the motive of this request, or the subject to be treated in the assembly. The king, to whom their petition was actually presented, did not refuse to comply with it, but declared (as he had a right to do) that he would prescribe to them the place, the matter, and form of this assembly, and send thither a person to represent himself: Châteleraut was the place he appointed†, and myself the person who was to appear there, with a commission, to take care of his majesty's interest. The protestants, those I mean who fomented the seditions in this body, would rather, I believe, have had their

* John de Sudrie, baron of Calvairac, a gentleman of the province of Querci.

† Life of Du-Plessis Mornay, b. II.

request denied, than granted upon such conditions; they alledged, that, if I joined the title of the king's representative to the quality of governor of the province in which this assembly was to be held, nothing could shield them against the authority I should not fail to arrogate to myself. It may be imagined that, at this time, my brethren expected less favour from me than the most abhorred papist. 1605.

The method which the rebels had recourse to, was to present another petition to his majesty, signed by two or three hundred persons at least; in which they declared, that, upon more mature deliberation, they found it necessary to entreat he would defer calling this assembly. As soon as Henry was informed of this disposition of the protestants, he had expected to receive another petition from them, and, in a letter which he wrote to me from Fontainebleau, dated March the 30th, he desired I would advise him what to do upon this occasion: I had received the same information as his majesty, and used my utmost endeavours to discover the true state of things; for which purpose, the journey I had taken the preceding year into Poitou was of great service to me: however, nothing appeared to me very positive, except that three or four of the most seditious amongst them had endeavoured to raise some disturbance, but with so little success, that the fires they had kindled evaporated in smoke. I may venture to affirm, that my letters and discourse to the least prejudiced persons in the party, with my solicitude in other respects, had greatly contributed to reduce matters to this point. This it was, upon which the advice and the answer the king demanded of me turned.

It is certain at least that his majesty never heard more of this second petition which had made so much noise, and by that he was able to guess the nature of all those other reports: but he still continued to receive, in the beginning of April, so many new infor-

1605. informations, and those of such consequence, and in appearance so well founded, that he suffered himself to be driven along with the torrent. It was reported, and that even by the first president of Toulouse, and many other persons in Guienne, that the protestants, both in that province and in Languedoc, had uttered many disrespectful speeches against his majesty: they added, that these people had resolved to send a deputation, to prevail upon him to recal his grant for holding the assembly at Châtelleraut. In another letter dated April 7. Henry ordered me to come to him the day after Easter, to assist him in taking a resolution upon these new letters, and to be present at the reception of the protestant deputies; and lastly, to explain to them his intentions in such a manner, as became his majesty to use with subjects who, in some measure, presumed to give laws to their sovereign. It is certain, that, although this prince had been willing to take the trouble of doing this himself, he was not in a condition; for, during this whole month, he was afflicted with frequent returns of the gout, which had obliged him to have recourse to a remedy that never failed: this was a proper regimen, which he observed with great strictness during part of the month of May. Of all his council, he had no one about his person but Sillery, and him his majesty did not think fit for such a commission.

All these circumstances I relate from Henry's letter, which he concluded with telling me, that he would permit me to return to Paris as soon as this affair was terminated. In my answer, which I wrote to this prince while I attended his orders for my departure, I represented to him two things, to which, in my opinion, no reply could be made; and these were, that if his majesty would not believe, what however was absolutely certain, that all those informations which were given him, either with great mystery or great noise, were nothing but the murmurs of some persons hired expressly for that

that purpose in the provinces, he was then much to blame to suffer his peace to be thus disturbed, when it was in his own power to reduce these rebels to silence. It was upon these transactions, that my enemies suggested those suspicions of me to his majesty, which produced that disgust I have given an account of in the former book: and it may be easily imagined, that while that disgust continued, he had no inclination to chuse me either for his confidant or his agent with the protestants. My return to favour happened in the manner I have already related: he told me, that he could not give a more convincing proof of his being perfectly cured of all his suspicions, than by confirming me in the employment he had at first destined for me. I intreated this prince to send any other person rather than me to Chatelleraut, invested with his authority, because I was apprehensive of affording, without designing it, some new matter for calumny: but Henry reasoned in a quite different manner; he believed, that, after what had passed, he owed to himself, to me, and to my accusers, such an incontestable proof of his good opinion of me, as the shewing me to the public in a post, wherein the sacrifice he expected I should make him of my nearest interests, would set my innocence in the clearest point of view, and silence all malice and detraction; and added graciously, that my enemies themselves had just put him upon his guard against their insinuations, therefore I had nothing to fear. Then, after twice embracing me, with all his usual expressions of tenderness, he ordered me to return to Paris, to put all affairs in such order, that they might receive no prejudice from my absence; to draw up memorials of all those which related to my commission; and to compose myself the instructions which I was to receive in writing from his hand, and with the consent of his council.

The king, in the mean time, went to pass part of June at Saint-Germain. In the beginning of this

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month,

1605. month, a defluxion of humours fell upon his foot*, which he hoped to disperse by the exercise of hunting, taking the precaution to have his boot cut open upon the part affected: while this fit lasted, he was not able to apply to any business, although, as he wrote me word, the preservation of one half of his kingdom should depend upon it. When his disorder was abated he returned to Paris, where he prepared for his journey to Monceau, after giving all the necessary orders for my departure.

I put down on paper, all the questions I desired to be resolved, with regard to the several parts of my function as representative of the king; the answers to which were to make up the ground of the instructions upon which I had just agreed with his majesty. This paper I sent to Villeroi and Fresne, who returned it with answers to each question, adding, that if I found them satisfactory, I might reduce them to such a form as I judged proper. I was resolved to have two of these papers, one more general, and the other in the form of a particular memorial, joined to the former: these two papers regulated the manner in which I was to speak and act with the protestants, as I am going to shew.

Upon the first view, the occasion of the assembly at Châtelleraut, did not appear of such importance as it really was, either with respect to the king or the protestant body, being granted for no other purpose but to examine the deputies sent by this body to his majesty, the term of whose offices was expired, and to appoint others to succeed them, an affair which did not require so solemn an assembly as this was likely to be. But, upon a closer examination,

* 'I went to the arsenal.' says Henry IV. speaking of one of his fits of the gout, 'with my wife; M. de Sully said to me, "Sire, you have money and never see it:" which really is true enough; for I am satisfied with knowing I have money, without amusing myself with the pleasure of looking at it. We went together to the Bastille, and he shewed us what was doing there: I assure you, at that instant I was attacked by the gout, which brought to my mind the proverb, Those who have the gout, have riches.' Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 613.

we shall find, that the real aim of some of the chief heads of the protestant party, was to take advantage of this assembly, to extend their rights, and to procure the grant of new favours and privileges; a design which his majesty could not better return, than by seizing likewise this opportunity to recall them, with more solemnity, to the observation of the old regulations, the wisdom and utility of which were sufficiently evinced by the effects they had produced; and, instead of suffering them to be infringed, to give them new force, and exact a more strict obedience to them; so that after this, the protestant body in France, being persuaded of the rectitude of the king's intentions, and of his firm resolution to maintain his rights, must either resolve openly to despise his authority, or return with sincerity to their duty: this was the principal point of my commission.

To attain this end, I was enjoined to fix their view principally upon the edict of pacification issued at Nantes, as a fundamental piece, which might serve them equally for a rule to judge of their conduct towards the king, and of his towards them. I was to shew them, that this edict, which had suffered so many misinterpretations, being the basis of their liberty, the proof of their fidelity to their king, of their attachment to the public good, and of those sentiments which their religion itself ought to inspire them with; if they observed it exactly, they would neither swerve on one side or the other, any more than Henry had done, who had religiously fulfilled all the obligations it had laid upon him. The free exercise of their religion, the peaceable enjoyment of their estates and employments, the gentleness of the government, the tranquil but solid situation of affairs, daily confirmed and strengthened the security of those promises made by the prince, well known by a long train of effects; and lastly, by the satisfactory answers he had given to every thing of importance expressed in their memorials; all these were so many pledges of faith in him, which the prote-

1605. stants ought to return by such instances of submission and gratitude, as a good and indulgent prince has a right to exact from his subjects: their own interest likewise made it necessary for them to follow this plan of conduct, since, if they justly considered the true state of things, it was they only who run any risques by an infraction.

The inference to be drawn from all these considerations, and which I was ordered to represent to the assembly, was, that they ought to appear far from having a design of demanding that any alteration should be made in the edict of Nantes; such as that of being empowered to chuse themselves a head, either within or without the kingdom, any other than the king himself, who merited that title from them on many accounts. As it could not be foreseen what other demands the protestants would bethink themselves of making, they left it to me to chuse proper arguments either for denying, or eluding them: I was only ordered to signify to them in plain terms, that for the future they must not expect such general assemblies would be permitted; and that this, which his majesty had consented should be held, to instruct them altogether in their duty, and to exhort them to fulfil it, should be in the place of that which they had resolved, in the last synod of Gap, to entreat his majesty to grant them.

The reasons for this cessation of extraordinary assemblies were sufficiently plain; for they were convened, either on account of some affairs relating to the discipline of the church, some matters of law and police, or lastly for some favour they wanted to obtain of the king: for the first, the protestants have their provincial synods, which his majesty, by abolishing the extraordinary assemblies, made no encroachment upon. All he demanded with respect to them, and certainly nothing could be more just, was, that they should confine their deliberations to religious affairs; whereas, under this pretence, they often treated of such as related merely to the civil govern-

government. If the design be to settle something relating to the administration of justice and the police, there is **no reason** for excepting them from the general rule, by which all controverted matters of those two kinds, are referred to the tribunals of the judges, and the ordinary magistrates; and lastly, those which are matters of favour, and depend merely upon the king's indulgence, are to be treated by way of petition and supplication: nothing is more useless than those great expences and commotions, which an extraordinary assembly occasions, for an affair in itself of little importance.

There was another reason for suppressing these assemblies, which, although I cannot disguise, I may soften a little, by barely saying, that they often gave occasion for judgments not very favourable for the protestant party; for the public are willing enough to shut their eyes upon wise and prudent determinations, though not to the intrigues of the disaffected, who, in these tumultuous assemblies, remain confounded with persons more equitable, but whose proceedings are less taken notice of. If it happened that any of these articles, or others of the same nature, should be contested at Châtelleraut, it was left to me to put an end to them in whatever manner I judged best; and I was even permitted to take those advantages which the profession of one common faith afforded me, to merit their confidence and engage their votes: it was only in cases of obstinacy and declared disobedience that I was obliged to inform his majesty, and suspend all resolutions, till I had received his orders; as likewise not to suffer the assembly to break up without his leave.

With respect to the article of the deputies, it is necessary to inform the reader, that the protestants always kept two men of their party at court, one for the ecclesiastic order, the other for the secular; they were to treat with his majesty's ministers, or with the prince himself, upon all affairs necessary to be communicated to him, and to receive his orders concerning

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cerning them. These deputies entered upon this office by election, which was renewed every three years, when others succeeded to their place. If we go back to the source of this institution, we shall not find that the protestants had any legal title to this pretended right of residence and nomination of the deputies, which they asserted so strenuously; it was not mentioned in the edicts, nor even in the writings that contained these private articles, which were sometimes separate from the treaties: it was only a custom merely tolerated, and first introduced on account of the resistance some sovereign courts made to registering the edict of Nantes, and only to be continued till that was done. However, his majesty had no inclination to deprive the protestants of this privilege: all he required, and this was one of the principal points of my commission, was that, for the nomination of these deputies, they should adhere to one of those two methods prescribed by him to their own deputies, when they desired leave to hold the assembly, and if possible to the second, by which his majesty expected that the protestants should present to him the names of six persons chosen from their body, out of which he should name two who were most agreeable to him.

It might possibly happen, that the heads of the party would endeavour to elude those regulations which his majesty proposed to get received in the assembly, and for that purpose affect to confine themselves to this single question; an artifice I was likewise to prevent. As to the affair of Orange, which it was certainly expected would be brought upon the carpet (as indeed it was) I had orders to represent to them, that Henry had laboured in vain to manage it so as that this city, which he could not refuse to restore to the prince of Orange, might by him be left to the French protestants. All therefore that could be done upon this occasion, was to prevail upon Maurice, that in the room of Blacons, who commanded there, and who himself desired permis-
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sion to leave it, he would place a protestant officer as his lieutenant, whom they might oblige to take the oath of obedience to his majesty. I shall resume this affair in the sequel. Such were my general instructions, dated July 3d 1605, and signed Henry and Forget. 1605.

All the difference between these general instructions, and the particular memorial joined to them, consisted in this, that the latter made no mention of the declared subject of the assembly, but was confined to some other questions which might probably be discussed there, and tended to prevent those designs from being effected, which it was suspected the heads of the cabal would endeavour to get the multitude's approbation of. This detail, which was not inserted in the first writing, because there was a probability of its being needless, was however of great use to me; and it was upon that account, that I made a separate memorial of these instructions.

They imported, that I should not suffer the assembly, either in their debates or in writing, to advance any thing injurious to the Pope, or to stir up again that trifling doctrine of Antichrist, worthy of the synod of Gap, where it had taken birth; that no person should have a seat in the assembly in the quality of a deputy, from any individual whatever, not even from Lesdiguieres himself; that they should not, as they had done in that synod, receive letters from foreign princes, particularly from the duke of Bouillon. It seemed of importance to his majesty, that an ungrateful subject, such as Bouillon, should be publicly known to have rendered himself unworthy of any favour from his sovereign. The manner in which others, who might be ranked in this class, should behave in the assembly, was to regulate the treatment they were to receive from me.

If the quality of president of the assembly, which his majesty earnestly wished they would confer upon me, and which, on this occasion, he would not have been offended with me for accepting, should not be

1605. sufficient to give weight to what I said to them, I was to join to it the authority of governor of the province; and, as opportunities offered, and the disposition of their minds required, I might give them to understand, that the king was not ignorant of the designs of the seditious protestants; provided that from thence they did not conclude, he was informed of the places where they were carried on.

There was so much the more appearance that the article of the cautionary towns given to the protestants would be discussed, as the term, to which the possessions of these places was prolonged by his majesty, was now near expired; and if this should happen, I was to hint, either to the assembly in general, or the deputies in particular, that, provided his majesty found in them that readiness to comply with his measures as he required, he would willingly agree to a farther prolongation. I had orders not to give them any absolute assurances of this favour, but to mention it as what might be granted, and to promise I would obtain it of his majesty: although I had then in my possession the letter of grant for that prolongation, I only obliged myself to keep it secret, till I received the king's commands to make use of it.

As to those fortified towns which had been given to the duke of Bouillon, and which from thence forward were to have no share of the funds destined by the king for their maintenance, they were to be declared for ever excluded from that advantage, as likewise from all hope of ever being paid the sum promised by the edict of Nantes for the support of the garrisons. This sum, at that time, amounted to five hundred seventy-three thousand four hundred and thirty-two livres, of which ninety thousand livres had been already cut off. Nor were they to expect a new appropriation for those funds which had been assigned them. I had already received some petitions upon these several suppressions; to which I always answered, that I thought this proceeding of his majesty absolutely just. Lastly, by this writing I

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obliged myself to do nothing without Henry's advice; with whom, from that moment, I began a regular intercourse of letters, most of them very long, and several in cyphers. This memorial is dated July 4. signed by his majesty, and countersigned by Villeroy. Two days afterwards I set out on my journey.

Queen Margaret's residence at the castle of Usson, gave her frequent opportunities of hearing news of the rebels; and as soon as she was informed that I was upon the road to Poitou, she thought herself obliged to acquaint me with all the particulars that had come to her knowledge: she had likewise some affairs of her own to impart to me, which I shall take notice of after I have related those which concerned my journey. For this purpose she came from Usson to Toury, from whence she wrote to his majesty, telling him the motive which had induced her to take this step, and the earnest desire she had to confer with me. I had left Paris, taking my rout through Rosny and Lavinville, two hours before the messenger who brought this letter for his majesty, and another for me, arrived. The king seeing by his own letter, and by mine, what this princess desired of him, sent La-Varenne after me on the 9th of July, to deliver me a letter from him, in which he told me, that he should be glad if I would visit queen Margaret, although I should be obliged to leave the road to Châtelleraut, and go back as far as Orleans. La-Varenne gave me the letter queen Margaret had wrote, dated from Toury, July 7. by which I learned that this princess waited for me between Paris and Orleans; and that I might not fail to meet her, she sent Rodelle her master of the horse, to desire I would come as far as Orleans, if I did not meet her before on the road: but she spared me the trouble of going so far; for, upon my arrival at Cercote, I was informed that she was there likewise. My wife having accompanied me to Rosny and Lavinville, I brought her to Cercote with me, that she might

1605. might take advantage of this opportunity to pay her respects to this princess.

It was still so early in the morning when I arrived at Cercote, that queen Margaret was not up; however, she ordered me to be admitted into her chamber, where I had the honour to confer with her a full hour before she arose. We resumed our conversation after she was dressed, and spent the whole day in the same manner. I shall not repeat the polite and obliging things this princess said to me: but what I had been told in general by Murat, concerning the civil factions, was minutely particularised to me by her and Rodelle. They named a great number of persons of the first quality in Provence and Languedoc, and even some of the relations of the duke de Montpensier and cardinal Joyeuse, who were engaged in the conspiracy: some of these persons had been in the secret of marechal Biron's designs, and had afterwards joined themselves to those whom they found determined to pursue them. The revenge of this marechal, was not one of their least motives; and they made use of the same methods he had done to excite a rebellion among the people. Besides those towns which, as we have seen, the conspirators endeavoured to surprize, they had views likewise upon Beziers, Narbonne, and Leucate. All these informations queen Margaret and Rodelle offered to support with evidences so clear, as would not, they said, leave me the least room to doubt of their certainty. I gave his majesty an exact account of what I had heard, in a letter I wrote to him from Cercote, dated July 14. I likewise sent him a list of the conspirators names; as I had received it from queen Margaret and Rodelle, but I still persisted in my former opinion; nor, in all they had said to me, did I find occasion to alter it.

It is certain, however, that these informations were too circumstantial and well supported not to merit some belief; for Rodelle had been himself of the cabal, and had left it, only through a reflexion upon

upon the rashness of all their measures. He told me, that La-Chapelle-Biron, and above thirty gentlemen more of his acquaintance, had taken the same resolution to leave the cabal, and inform his majesty of all they knew, provided they could be sure of obtaining the pardon they would implore of him: that they had applied to him to take this step in their favour; and this he proved by the letters they had written to him for that purpose. He added, that they had violent suspicions that my journey to Poitou concealed a secret design of seizing them: that they had prevailed upon queen Margaret to declare their intentions to me, and the earnest desire they had to efface the remembrance of their error, by their future fidelity and services to his majesty. All this was sufficiently clear, and I had no doubt of it remaining: but they endeavoured in vain to persuade me that the whole kingdom was in a flame, while I saw only an inconsiderable number of rash zealots, whom it was easy for his majesty to crush, whenever he would condescend to treat as a serious matter, a design which deserved only derision and contempt. For what remained, as often as I attempted to examine strictly into these informations, in appearance of such weight, and supported with such proofs, I always found that the false greatly exceeded the true.

In this, however, Henry was of an opinion contrary to mine: he thought the slightest disturbance within his kingdom merited all his attention, "because," said he, "the French were ever fond of novelties, and eagerly admit every change." He often complained, in his answers to my letters, that some of his other ministers had as slight a notion of the present evil as myself: he was more confirmed in his apprehensions, when a memorial from Vivant fell into his hands, which exactly agreed with all that had been told me by queen Margaret and Rodelle. He dispatched orders immediately to Vivant, to send him the person from whom he received those informations; and to me, to make, in concert with Vivant,

1605. Vivant, as soon as I arrived at Châtelleraut, the strictest inquiries into every thing that concerned this cabal. Vivant being one of the protestant deputies to the assembly, this quality might possibly render me suspected by him: the king, however, had taken care to obviate this difficulty, by writing to him that he might place an entire confidence in me. The letter passed through my hands, with a precaution that Vivant should not be named in the affair, lest, by losing his credit with the protestants, he should not have it in his power to serve his majesty effectually with them. As to Rodelle, and the other gentlemen before mentioned, Henry approved of the resolution I had taken with queen Margaret to send them to him: he heard what they had to say, gave them his orders, and sent them back to perform the promises they made him, to labour there for his service. This prince never regretted any expence which these emissaries and informers put him to.

Some of them had intercepted the copy of a letter written to the duke of Bouillon, by one of his confidants, whom they suspected to be Saint-Germain-de-Clan, and brought it to the king: this perhaps was the cause of his increased vigilance. I shall give an account of this letter here, that the reader may be able to judge whether the inferences that were drawn from it at Monceaux were altogether just. It made part of the packet which Henry sent me from this place. Saint-Germain, or whoever this correspondent of Bouillon's was, by this letter endeavoured principally to persuade him, that it was necessary he should send some person in his name to the assembly of Châtelleraut, who might support his interests there; or write at least a letter, which his friends might produce. The very considerable part the duke acted among the protestants, the necessity of proving his innocence, and the advantage to be acquired from shewing how much he suffered for the common cause, the general interest of the whole party, his own credit to be maintained with foreigners,

reigners, the solemnity of this assembly, and the example of that of Gap, were so many motives which in the beginning of this letter were urged with the utmost earnestness to move him. 1605.

The rest was a confused mass of conjectures, inferences, and precautions, on the subject of this assembly; all intended to prove, that the protestant church had nothing to hope or expect but from his efforts alone. The author of this letter supposes, that Henry had totally forgot all his former promises; and that he openly sacrificed the protestants to their most cruel enemies: as proofs of which, he alledged the connection between the king's council and that of Rome, the immense sums which he said were expended to make a Pope, the rejoicings for his election, and the favour the Jesuits enjoyed, sufficiently shewn by the demolition of the pyramid. He afterwards considered what, in the present circumstances, might be the result of the assembly; and presaged nothing but misfortunes, as well on account of the timidity of the party, as the artifices the king would make use of to obtain his ends.

Here I began to appear upon the scene, and it may be easily guessed what sort of figure I made. According to the author of this letter, I had proposals to make, which could not fail of removing all difficulties; among others, that of prolonging the time for the possession of the cautionary towns. Saint-Germain hoped contrary to his first hopes, or rather, to reassure Bouillon, depended upon my artifices with respect to the choice of the deputies all failing, and reasoning his own way upon the struggles he supposed I should have in my mind between my conscience, which could not yield to adopt the policy of the council, and my ambition, which would not suffer me to make the Pope and the papists my enemies, he sometimes saw no probability that I would take upon myself a commission which I could not execute to the king's satisfaction, without betraying my religion; nor serve my religion, without exposing

1605. exposing myself to unavoidable disgrace. He likewise saw nothing but obstacles and difficulties in such a commission, which I should never be able to surmount. As he did not know that his majesty, besides leaving the general places of security to the protestants, would consent also that the individuals of that body should keep those they were at present in possession of; and believing that this circumstance alone was sufficient to alienate their affections, he triumphed in my perplexity and confusion: he alleged, that the king had said, the person whom he should send in his name to the assembly, would have nothing to do but to declare his will there. Upon these words, he affirmed boldly, that rather than go to any place in my government where the people would not pay me the honours I thought due to me, nor even allow me to be present at their consultations, I would find reasons to get myself dispensed with from taking that journey; or at the worst, if I should go, Saint-Germain engaged to the duke of Bouillon, that all my authority should not hinder the assembly from giving his letter a respectful reading, or his deputy an honourable reception.

The misfortune was, that the weakness of this duke's partisans was a point so generally known, that, notwithstanding all this shew of confidence, and ostentation of power, his friend was obliged to confess, that the coldness of the provinces, and the neglect of the party, with respect to him, was very great. And having thus spared the duke's confusion by these softened expressions, he approved of the caution which Bouillon had been the first to advise should be used when he was mentioned, which was, not to make any demand for him in his name, which was the least liable to opposition; but confine themselves to remonstrances from the protestant body in general, upon the depriving him of his places, refusing him justice, his banishment, and the persecution he was exposed to on account of his zeal for his religion. He considered what danger might be apprehended

prehended from a letter written in this form to the assembly, and finding none, although they should even pay no regard to it, and, supposing the worst, sacrifice it to the king; he exhorted the duke of Bouillon to write such a one, giving it as his opinion, that it should not be made public at first; but, being read on a sudden to the assembly, derive some advantage from those first emotions of compassion which it was likely to excite. He added, that the party would look upon it as a stroke of great consequence for the duke, if the letter, instead of being presented to the assembly by one single person, should be brought thither by the deputies from the upper and lower Guyenne, where his fortresses were situated; or that they should appear to have undertaken the commission of themselves, or, what was still better, by the orders of their provincials.

This was the letter which made so much noise at court. To the packet his majesty sent me, Sillery thought proper to add a letter from himself upon this subject alone. Sillery was the person whom Henry kept near him, and who was then employed, as well in reconciling the prince of Conti and the count of Soissons, at that time at variance with each other, as in the affair of Orange, which, according to the advices his majesty received from Lefdiguieres and others, was taking an unfavourable turn. When I read the copy of this letter to the duke of Bouillon, I was convinced that the court would take a false alarm at it. I saw nothing in the contents which did not confirm me in my opinion that the seditious party was very inconsiderable, careless, unsteady, destitute of all resources, and far from any intention to undertake any enterprise of importance; and that Bouillon, who had more experience than the rest, would not engage in such extravagant schemes as were proposed to him one after the other, schemes without order or connexion, and leading to no fixed end, since there was nothing but confusion to be expected from them. In a word, amidst that
false

1605. false courage which is inspired by great presumption, and notwithstanding that affectation of fine policy, I thought I could plainly perceive disunion among the members of this body, and despair in its leader. I therefore persisted in my former opinion, and declared my sentiments freely in the answer I sent to Monceaux; although probably, by doing so, I rendered my sincerity a little doubtful: but I comforted myself by the reflection that those suspicions would last at most, but till the discovery of this mystery, which would be effected by the assembly at Châtelleraut.

As for the other assertions in this letter, I can assure the reader, that I never felt those struggles and perturbations of mind, which the writer of it, and many other persons, attributed to me upon the choice I was to make, between serving my prince, and my religion; since in reality, in this affair, I saw no foundation for making such an alternative. A common prejudice prevails among all sects of religion; a man is never supposed to be a sincere professor of the one he has embraced, unless he supports it obstinately, even in such points where it is most visibly wrong. Upon this footing, I confess, the method I was determined to pursue might, by the author of that letter, and those who judged like him, draw upon me the epithets of false brother, deserter, and, if they please, traitor: however, it was not the approbation of such as those, that I proposed to obtain, but of persons who, of whatever party or religion they were, would, in their judgment of my conduct, preserve the ballance of equity and disinterestedness. If ever religion admits of the assistance of policy, it ought to be of a policy pure, simple, and upright as itself; any other may indeed appear to serve it, but does not in reality, and sooner or later never fails to ruin it.

Having determined to be guided by no other principle in my transactions with the assembly, I thought I could not too carefully avoid all appearances of affectation

fection or disguise in my conduct; that those who were influenced by an imprudent zeal, or actuated by a spirit of cabal, might have no hopes of gaining or seducing me: therefore, from the beginning, I shewed myself solicitous to support on this occasion, that character by which all France was to know how I would act on every other; that is, of a man as sincerely attached to the true principles of the protestant religion, as incapable of drawing the false consequences which many of the protestants did, or of approving their irregular proceedings. The speech I made at the opening of the assembly, which lasted half an hour, was wholly calculated to produce this effect, without troubling myself to consider whether it would give pleasure or offence to the greatest number.

I began by representing to them, that, among so many persons blindly devoted to the will of the prince, his majesty would not have fixed upon a person to treat with them whose unshaken constancy to his religion was so well known, if he was more solicitous to support or increase his rights, than to persuade their judgments and gain their hearts: that this reason was sufficient to make them place an absolute confidence in all that I should say or do, since I certainly had not waited for this moment basely to betray my religion. But I declared to them, at the same time, that they must expect to see me as zealous for the interest of my prince, when it did not injure what I owed to my religion and the general good, since it was incumbent upon me to justify, to his majesty himself, the choice he had made of me; and to support, in the view of the whole kingdom, the reputation of a prudent and upright minister; which I flattered myself I now enjoyed. I invited them to share this honour with me, observing, that here honour and good policy were the same. This point indeed I found most difficulty to persuade them of; and when they heard me assert, that their cautionary towns had no fence but their own good

1505. inclinations, they, instead of taking my words literally, looked upon them as a paradox, or a figure in oratory.

Nothing, however, was more certain: and to shew the protestants, that the first foundation of their policy was false, I entered upon the discussion of this principal point; that is, the keeping of their towns, in which they fancied their greatest strength consisted, and concerning which, as I was informed, they were incited to make very earnest and very bold representations to his majesty. I shewed them, that the great number of little paltry places which they held under this title, was so far from being advantageous to them, that they would hasten their ruin, if ever they had an attempt made upon them by a king of France, the present king especially, to whom many of their officers were attached; because that not having any fortrefs so mean, or governor so inconsiderable, who would not pretend to the honour of making some resistance, it must necessarily happen, that their tolerable cities, which were about ten or twelve in number, must suffer greatly from this useless dispersion of their soldiers and ammunition, and from time to time fall into the hands of their enemies: I did not even except Lesdiguières, their Achilles, provided that he waited for this extremity, to separate himself from them: in reality, without judging too rashly of this officer, it might be confidently asserted, that the only religion capable of fixing him, was that which could secure him in the possession of his riches, and the authority he had always exercised throughout his province. Some other proofs of his being but slightly attached to the doctrine of the protestant church, might be produced. I am obliged to discover in this manner the real principles of Lesdiguières, because it was one part of my commission, to shew that the most secret dispositions of the party were not unknown.

The conduct of Du-Plessis was very different, but still more to be pitied: this man, in whom an ardent

dent zeal for his party held the place of experience and military virtue, had taken it into his head to fortify his castle of Saumur, and did it in such a manner, that to defend it would require a garrison of eight thousand men, with ammunition in proportion. I desired to know where Du-Plessis would procure all this, should he be attacked unexpectedly, and added, that what I said to them was not by way of information, since I was not ignorant that they were condemned to know this truth, by the result of the deliberations in their provinces, as well as by their own losses; but only to shew them, that the king's council reasoned justly upon their situation: and that if, notwithstanding this knowledge, they were left in peace, that consideration ought to increase their gratitude and affection for the prince their benefactor.

I then proceeded to acquaint the deputies with his majesty's intentions, in a manner that would admit of no doubt or equivocation; that they were for the future not to receive in their synods, or even in their houses, any deputies or letters from foreign princes, cities, communities, or French lords; namely, messieurs de Rohan, de Bouillon, de Lesdiguières, de La-Force, de Châtillon, and Du-Plessis, because the king would not suffer any affairs of importance to be treated of in his kingdom, without his participation: that upon no pretence or reason whatever, they were ever more permitted to hold an assembly like those they had formerly held; but if they had any request to make to his majesty, they were to apply to the deputies, who were allowed to stay at court for this purpose, and that it should be expressed in the *cabier* of their province. I declared to them, that if they pretended, in this assembly, to take resolutions contrary to these orders, besides the other inconveniences to which they would expose themselves, they must expect to see me make use of all the power annexed to my commission, and all the authority granted to a governor in his province,

1605. to bring them back to their duty. This was the substance of my speech to the assembly; leaving it to them to settle at leisure the affairs of the deputies and the cautionary towns.

This speech, and particularly the declaration with which I concluded it, gave great offence to many deputies of the assembly; it occasioned several warm disputes in their private consultations, and four or five deputations to me: those whose interest it was that the assembly should not proceed to more essential affairs, desired no better than to waste the time in this kind of preliminary questions, and protracted them on purpose. But with a little industry, and some address, I put an end to this useless prelude. The king highly resented their not chusing me president of the assembly; though afterwards, altering his opinion on that head, he had advised me not to accept of it: he thought that, upon several considerations, I merited this honour from them; and said publicly with great resentment, that on this occasion the protestants had given an equal proof of their disregard to the public good, as jealousy of me; but it is certain, that I was the first, and even the only one, who made any objection to it, and this for reasons which I wrote his majesty word I would tell him myself, and with which he would be satisfied.

MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK XXII.

THE general assembly of the protestants at Châtelleraut was already opened, when the king received a letter from the duke of Bouillon, which was brought by a man named Ruffy. In this letter Bouillon acquainted his majesty, that a league was actually forming among the German princes against the house of Austria; and that these princes, being desirous of strengthening themselves with the power and assistance of his majesty, had fixed upon him to be a mediator between the king and them. On their part, he promised a full security to the king and kingdom; and on his own, he offered, with an effusion of the noblest sentiments, to assist this design with his person and forces, expressing great joy at his having found an opportunity so often hinted at by Montluet, when, in writing to him by the king's orders, he told him, that it was by real and effectual services, and not by words only, that for the future he could persuade this prince of the purity of his intentions. 1605.

Henry, at the receipt of this letter, was neither much moved in favour of the duke of Bouillon, nor greatly pleased with the pretended scheme: far

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from

1605. from accepting an offer in appearance so favourable to his designs, he was apprehensive of raising an unsurmountable obstacle to the execution of them by too great precipitation; besides, the snare which Bouillon laid for him, was too thinly disguised to produce the effect it was designed for. Nothing could be more improbable, than that the German princes should chuse Bouillon to act the part of a mediator and reconciler, he who was himself considered by the council of France as a criminal. Henry therefore contented himself with telling Ruffy, in answer to this letter, that the duke's informations were too indeterminate, and came too late. Bouillon would certainly have expected very little success from this artifice, if he had known that a letter, which he had written to the protestants assembled at Châtelleraut, fell at the same time into his majesty's hands. This letter was a kind of answer to that which, as we have observed, had been lately sent to Bouillon by Saint-Germain de-Clan, and it was well known was designed for him; though, in one part of it, he mentions Saint-Germain as a third person. By the contents, it was plain, that the letter he wrote his majesty from Germany, was done with no other view but to induce the king to treat him more favourably in the assembly, and to hinder him from suspecting the true motives of his conduct.

The duke of Bouillon, in his letter to Saint-Germain, did not lose sight of his quality of chief of the party, since it was written with an intention to regulate the proceedings of the assembly. The nomination of the deputies was the article first and principally considered in it: he gave his opinion of each of those persons who might pretend to this office, such as La-Nouë, Du-Plessis, Bellujon, and Saint-Germain himself, in whose favour he gave his vote for continuing him in his employment, from which he was now discharged, and interested himself so much in it as to exhort the protestants to unite

unite their endeavours to make the election fall upon him: he bestowed great praises upon La-Nouë, ^{1605.} but recommended it to them to give the preference to Saint-Germain, the office which the first exercised at Geneva so usefully for the party, affording a plausible pretence for excluding him from the deputation, without which it is probable he might be offended. He spoke of Du-Plessis, as of a man too obstinately attached to his own opinions, and able likewise to make himself be listened to and respected by Lesdiguières; which to the duke seemed so important a point, that he considered the want of that power in Bellujon almost as a crime. Bellujon, he allowed, had understanding, prudence and address, and, next to Saint-Germain, had the best claim to the deputation. The perfect agreement between those two might indeed produce miracles; but Bellujon's attachment to Lesdiguières was, in the opinion of Bouillon, a stain in his character which could not be effaced: he would have done better to have owned freely, that he was jealous of the reputation Lesdiguières had acquired in the party. Another fault which Bouillon attributed, equally and without exception, to all the candidates for the office of deputy, was that attention they discovered to their own interest, which however he considered as no objection, because of its being so general.

Bouillon next proceeded to speak of himself; and here vanity dictated every word. He informed Saint-Germain, that it was reported in Germany, the king was desirous of being reconciled to him, and that Parabere or Montluet would be soon sent to him for that purpose; and, to remove all suspicions of the truth of this assertion, he sent him a letter which he said Montluet had written to him, in which he desired him to apply to some persons who might be able to effect a reconciliation between Henry and him. From all this Bouillon drew a thousand consequences, upon the consideration they had for him in Germany, the great advantages which

1605. the protestant party received from him, and the fears with which he inspired the king and his council; he was not willing to leave his brethren in doubt, that he would not hear all the propositions his majesty made to him, through an apprehension that they were only snares which were laid for him, to deprive him of the authority he had acquired among the people. He lightly passed over the article of sending some person in his name to the assembly, and spoke of it as a thing subject to difficulties; and upon which it was necessary to consult Lefdiguieres, Du Pleſſis, and Saint Germain.

But he dwelt with a peculiar satisfaction upon the solemn assemblies which were held at his house, composed of all the most distinguished persons in Germany, asserting that the protestant religion must necessarily receive the highest benefit from them. By the resentment he here discovered against Lefdiguieres, it was judged that the latter had declared his sentiments of these so much boasted assemblies a little too freely; but the duke of Bouillon, to give a just idea of their extreme utility, assured his party, that the sole apprehension of what might be resolved upon there was sufficient to disturb Henry's repose, and make him use every method to gain him. He added, that he had been often reproached by the persons who composed these assemblies, with not having made the court of France sufficiently sensible of the advantages he possessed, and had received offers from them to take this trouble upon themselves; but that he had opposed this effect of their zeal, by representing to them (with wonderful modesty) that the jealousy which Henry entertained of him being the true cause of the difference between them, their intercession would have no other consequence but to augment that jealousy, and prejudice themselves, without serving him. The only method by which Henry could be brought to reason (which he insinuated was the opinion of this whole assembly of friends, as well as his own) was to reduce

duce him, through fear of what he might undertake, to a necessity of granting them all they desired. ~~~~~ 1605.

All the notice this very singular letter deserved (if it be granted that it deserved any) was to make use of it to prevent some demands which it was probable might be made in the assembly; for, as to the rest, whom could Bouillon expect to impose upon by his arrogant boasts? There is no necessity for seeking any other proof than what these ridiculous rodomantados afford, that the seditious party had made no preparations, either within or without the kingdom, for a revolt; that they did not yet understand each others schemes, or had come to any explanation concerning their common and general interest. With regard to this new pretended league in favour of the protestants; there was good reason for thinking of it as Lesdiguieres did: in one word, that it was the mere invention of Bouillon. Caumartin never mentioned it in his letters to the king, although he had a conference with the landgrave of Hesse concerning every thing that related to the duke of Bouillon; and all the landgrave desired to know of him was, if the king had really employed Monluet in the expresses his majesty had sent to Sedan. The reason which induced the landgrave of Hesse to ask this question, was a report which had been spread in Germany, that his most Christian majesty was endeavouring to get possession of Sedan by surprise, and to abolish the reformed religion there. It was plain that this report was raised by Bouillon himself, who, taking occasion from that to gratify his hatred of the king, insinuated at the same time, that his city was so strong, Henry could have no hopes of taking it but by a stratagem: this was, indeed, to possess the art of uniting together presumption, malice, and falsehood. All the duke of Bouillon's talents might be reduced to a great fertility of invention, and consummate dexterity in spreading reports disadvantageous to his enemies.

Of

1605. Of the same kind was that which prevailed concerning the resolution taken by the Swisses assembled at Badan, contrary to the interests of France, and proceeded from the same person: it occasioned, for a short time, some apprehensions in the kingdom, as the business mentioned in the former year, in which the leagues of the Grisons were employed, still remained unfinished; but when it was found that Caumartin, who would not have failed to have informed the king of it immediately if it had been true, was wholly silent concerning it, there was sufficient room to believe, that it was only an invention of those whose interest it was, that affairs should not go well in those cantons.

I could have wished, that his majesty had shewn the same contempt for the informations of those mercenary spies, whose numbers began to increase to such a degree, that they became chargeable to the government; and I freely own, that I regretted those large sums which were disbursed, to pay this kind of service, which, on account of the interest those from whom it was received were governed by, either with regard to themselves, to augment the garrisons of a city, or to procure a considerable gratuity, was greatly suspected by me. A certain man gave information of an assembly which was to be held at Puy-Laurens in the Upper Languedoc; he gave in a memorial of what passed there, and likewise assured us, that he himself had been present. Another officer or soldier of Quercy prevailed upon Vivant to send him to the king, because he said he had been solicited by a friend of his at Sarlat * to seize Domme; and declared the names of those who had spoken to them both upon this subject; this determined Henry to send Themmes thither to seize the persons accused. All these informations were afterwards found to be either false, or excessively exaggerated. It was not my opinion that

* In Perigord.

1605.

all precaution should be neglected; on the contrary, I was the first to advise the king to send some trusty persons to reside in Perigord and Quercy. The king, to whom I was not accustomed to speak in this manner, conceived great apprehensions from it, and I was obliged to assure him that I had received no bad news from either of these provinces.

But the method I would have preferred to all these little enquiries, as being both the shortest and most secure, was to give, from time to time, and as occasions offered, examples of severe punishment, such as the arret against the two Luquisses, Provincial gentlemen. It was resolved at the Arsenal, that, before I went away, an attempt should be made to seize them; for which purpose, the king made use of Ranchin, physician to the constable, who amused these mutineers so artfully, that the chevalier Montmorency seized nine or ten of the faction all together, with their two leaders, and confined them in the prison of Aiguesmortes: they were so indiscreet, that, amidst the confusion caused by their first surprise, they confessed themselves guilty of carrying on criminal correspondencies with Spain. Henry, fully resolved to punish them, sent the chevalier de Montmorency and Ranchin, at their return from this expedition, to Chantilly, to tell the constable that he must come the next day and prepare matters for their trials. It was this plot which made his majesty renew his design of taking a journey this year towards Provence. The report of an armament of galleys being fitted out by the Spaniards at Naples, was a second inducement. However, I saw no greater reason for taking umbrage at this armament now, than before, the Spaniards making almost the same preparations every year, on account of their trade to the Levant.

The king was likewise informed, that some of the leading men in the assembly, sought only to prolong the time in useless debates, to the end that I might quit it through weariness, or that affairs of another

1605. another kind might suffer by my absence; and to effect this, had resolved to make use of several pretexts, such as sending the deputies directly to the king to propose their demands, or to bear their general thanks, as if the assembly was looked upon as useless. Henry ordered Parabere, who was going to his government, to confer with me concerning this report, relying wholly upon my diligence to dispatch the business of the assembly with speed, but at the same time completely. For which purpose, I resolved to take measures, so much the more likely to succeed, as they flattered the vanity of the deputies. His majesty also commanded Parabere to assist me in my endeavours to discover the authors of these intrigues, but he would not venture to trust him with the secrets of most consequence; and even when he sent him to me to act in concert upon a certain memorial, he thought it necessary to send me this memorial by another hand, that I might have time to examine it, and take such measures as I thought proper, before the arrival of Parabere. Henry did not act in this manner thro' an apprehension of his failing in his duty, but Parabere had one fault, which is only so with respect to politics, he could never believe ill of any one; and another, which is generally joined to the former, a readiness to contract friendships with all sorts of men, whether ill or well affected to the government: he was never moved with any thing that was said concerning the French faction; and as often as the king mentioned the duke of Bouillon in his presence, he never failed to justify his innocence, and attributed all the crimes that were alledged against him to the malice of his enemies. It was this prepossession that made his majesty, though he discovered all his displeasure against the duke to Parabere, assign his former practices against him as the cause, without giving any hint to him of the more recent proofs he had of his disobedience; it was my part also, to regu-

regulate my conduct with Parabere upon this knowledge. 1605.

But setting aside all that was reported to the king, let us see what really passed in the assembly. The first meetings were as tumultuous and disorderly as I had expected they would be: the disaffected party assiduously applied themselves to imbitter the minds of others, and prepare them for sedition, because they thought it would be more difficult to inaslime them afterwards, if they suffered the assembly to take a peaceable turn. They therefore had recourse to their accustomed arts, and industriously confirmed the false reports they had raised, that the king was going to abolish their privileges, cancel their synods, to take advantage of the present assembly, to declare all the pensions he was accustomed to give to the ministers of the protestant religion struck off from the accounts of his revenues. Henry, when he complained of the aversion of the protestants for him, and for those whom he employed in affairs of state, used sometimes to say, that they deserved to be deprived of their pensions, offices, and governments. These words were reported to the assembly, as proceeding from a fixed resolution, and were construed into a positive declaration.

As I was not ignorant from what source those envenomed allegations proceeded, after having represented the falshood of them, I resolutely opposed their making any demands in this assembly, in the name, or on the part of Bouillon, Lesdiguières, and Du-Plessis, nor would I suffer any person to speak there, but those that had a claim to that privilege, by their quality of deputies from the provinces. I caused it to be privately intimated to Du-Plessis, that I left it to his choice, either to stay voluntarily from the assembly at Châtelleraut, or to come there as a mere spectator, and as a private man. This mortified him extremely; but he took the first part, either that, despairing of success, he was willing to avoid the blame of any resolutions

1605. solutions taken in his absence, although contrary to all his schemes, or that he promised himself some resource, or perhaps vengeance, by procuring an insurrection in the assembly in his favour. In effect, he so fixed the deputies from Dauphiny in his interest, that they cried out, nothing could be done without him. But I took my measures so well, that I made the presence of Du Pleffis as unnecessary as that of Bouillon. From him I expected no less than such an instance of resentment; but that Lefdiguieres should debase himself so far, as to act, by his emissaries, the part of a clamourer, in favour of a man so justly in disgrace with his majesty; he who lately had received a distinguishing favour for Créquy, his son-in-law; this was an instance of meanness and ingratitude that I could with difficulty pardon in him. On all these occasions I saw the utility of having taken proper steps, long before the meeting of the assembly, to secure to myself the best part of the votes.

In proportion as I saw my party increase in strength, I exerted my authority; I cut short all trifling and subtil questions; I insisted upon their proceeding to business, and, above all things, to look upon every thing which related to the royal authority as sacred: the violation of that was what Henry most apprehended, and indeed his fears were not wholly groundless. It will be an eternal stain upon the reputations of Bouillon, Du-Pleffis, D'Aubigné, Constant, Saint-Germain, and some others, more especially Lefdiguieres, that they set their hands to a paper, the certainty of which has been but too well proved, wherein they lay the foundation of a Calvinist republic, free and absolutely independent of the sovereign, in the heart of France. These terms, indeed, are not used in the writing; they seem to have industriously avoided them; but terms are of no consequence where the thing is plainly meant: and I ask those very persons, what was to be understood by the establishment of a body, the
leaders

leaders of which were as closely connected with each other, as separated from every one else, and from the provincial councils, to which the supreme general council gives laws? What was meant by the assistance they there endeavoured to procure from foreign powers, the obligation they imposed upon all governors and men in public offices, to take certain oaths which were prescribed to them? and, lastly, by their excluding the Roman catholics, and officers particularly attached to the king, from any post, dignity, or employment in the new party? Du-Plessis, who had apparently some reason to be apprehensive of my declaring to his majesty the part he had in this writing, thought it necessary, when the result of the assembly rendered the scheme ineffectual, not to incur the danger of being silent upon it; therefore, when he sent an apology to the king for not being present at the assembly, he added a formal disavowal of every thing contained in that paper.

This scheme was among the number of those whose execution it is necessary to hinder with as much caution as possible; I was willing, therefore, to know whether a great part of the protestant body were made acquainted with it, and continued to adhere to it: I mentioned it to the deputies, but in general terms, under the title of an association, and complained of reserve and distrust, which however I made them sensible was not wholly free from blame. Their answer was, that if Henry could live for ever, the protestants, satisfied with his word, would, from that moment, renounce all precaution, resign their cautionary towns, refuse all offers of assistance from foreigners, and consider all particular regulations for the preservation of their community as useless; but that their fears of finding very different sentiments in his successors, obliged them to take measures for their own security. This bold confession gave me more pleasure than an artful answer would have done; for if the assembly had

1605. had been concerned in the project, they would not have confined themselves to answer only the literal meaning of my words, but, struck with the secret reproach contained in them, would have endeavoured to justify themselves by repeated protestations, and an absolute denial.

I was convinced therefore, that hitherto the contagion of seditious discourse, and wicked examples had spread no farther than those six or seven persons whom I have named: but it was not so easy to make Henry believe it, or to remove his apprehensions that the evil would soon become general; he suffered himself to be greatly affected with that blind facility with which the populace received every impression, given them by those whom they looked upon as their leaders and defenders, and the fatal consequence which might ensue from it, if, unfortunately for France, he should die while the Dauphin was yet a child: he sometimes told me, that, on this occasion, my particular interest was strongly connected with that of the public, as being one of the chief officers of the crown, and appointed lieutenant to the company of his second son, if God should give him one, as it soon after happened. But all things considered, what could Bouillon, wandering and despised, Du-Plessis with his pen, Constant and D'Aubigné with their tongues, be capable of doing against an authority so solidly fixed, as that which Henry was at present in a condition to leave to his son? The uncertainty of the royal succession had always been, in my opinion, almost the only danger he had to fear.

I mentioned this affair to the deputies of the assembly as opportunities offered, without postponing the principal one which I had brought first upon the carpet, which was, the nomination of the particular deputies. The protestants claimed a right to nominate these deputies themselves, alledging that his majesty was not concerned in it: but I convinced them of their mistake, by representing to them,

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them, that his majesty, as king, ought to have the principal part in an affair which had so necessary an influence upon order and tranquillity, and was so closely connected with the civil government, that, upon the character of the deputies who were chosen, depended, in great measure, the good or bad intelligence between the two religions; and this I supported by an example drawn from the thing itself, which was, the artful and disengenuous conduct of some of those who had formerly exercised this employment.

To decide this combat of different opinions, I proposed that the assembly should determine upon a certain number of persons proper for this office, among whom the king should chuse two he best approved of; and, notwithstanding the repugnance I perceived they had still to this expedient, I did not despair of having it complied with, as I had very considerable gratuities to dispose of to those who acted conformable to his majesty's intentions. But here Henry himself raised an obstacle, without attending to it: he had judged, by the unanimous opposition the assembly made to this point, that I should never be able to carry it, therefore he wrote to me to consent that the two deputies should be proposed, and chosen in concert by him and the protestants; a concession which only increased the obstinacy of the assembly: for whether his majesty declared publicly the contents of his letters, or that those to whom he confided them did not keep his secret, all the intentions of this prince were as soon and as perfectly known in the assembly, as in the council itself. Villeroi sent me notice of it, but I knew it before; for this cause, I insisted that Sillery and he should always write to me with their own hands; a precaution which I observed myself, and was sometimes so much fatigued by it, that I was obliged to refer them both to the letters I wrote to his majesty, which they took care afterwards to burn. However, I carried my point in the assembly;

1605. bly; six persons were to be proposed to his majesty, from among whom he was to chuse the two deputies: and I likewise managed it so as that in these six there should not be one who had given any public marks of disobedience or mutiny. Henry looked upon this success as one of the most important services he could have received from me.

Some of the deputies requested, that a third deputy should be created, and this deputy to be always one of the protestant ministers. It was said, that Berault used his utmost endeavours to obtain this office, and intended to come to the assembly for that purpose, though he was not one of the provincial deputies: he had also, it was confidently asserted, many schemes to accomplish, especially in favour of the duke of Bouillon; and he was the person who prevailed upon the assembly at Mauvesin*, to write to the duke, to assure him that the protestant party in France had still, in all their proceedings, an eye to his person and interest. However, Berault, bold as he was, durst not shew himself upon this occasion, and the proposal was absolutely rejected; as was likewise another, which three or four persons ventured to offer that the protestant party should chuse deputies themselves, which were not to reside near the king, but in some parts of the chief provinces in the kingdom, and correspond immediately with the deputies-general at court. If this scheme had taken place, there would have been a necessity for redoubling our attention to the conduct of these subordinate deputies.

His majesty never made any objection to the quality of the deputies, provided they had the reputation of being men of probity and lovers of peace; and upon this, he carefully avoided every thing that had the appearance of constraint, as was evident, when it was debated whether governors of

* In Armagnac.

fortresses might be appointed deputies; the king yielded to the arguments urged by the assembly for the negative: and also on the subject of La-Nouë and Du-Coudrai, whom the protestants would not have placed in the list, alledging the absence of the first, and the employment of the second; however, they all afterwards agreed upon La-Nouë. As for me, I gave my vote for excluding Saint-Germain, notwithstanding the extreme desire they shewed to have him continued with Bellujon as his coadjutor. The king neither approved of the latter, nor even of Coudrai; but being willing to shew some respect for Lefdiguieres, he was inclined to chuse the deputy from the province of Dauphine. Des-Bordes and Marabat were also proposed; his majesty had a long time wished to do something for Marabat, although I assured him he was one of Bouillon's creatures; but he altered his intention, when Marabat, by imprudently sending his two children to the duke of Bouillon, left him no room to doubt of the truth of my assertions; and this alone was sufficient to exclude him from the deputation. Of all that were proposed for this office, there was not one who so much merited to have all the votes in his favour, as an advocate of Castres, named La-Devéze: but the reputation he had justly acquired of virtue and impartiality, was alone sufficient to render him obnoxious to his brethren; he gained nothing but the honour of having merited the confidence of his king, who wrote him a letter which I delivered to him with the utmost secrecy, lest it should entirely ruin him in the opinions of the protestants. When I became better acquainted with him, I looked upon him as a man, whose knowledge and abilities might be of great use to me. The remainder of July was spent in proposing, chusing, rejecting, or approving the different candidates.

The choice of the deputies continued to be debated with the same heat, during the first part of

1605. the following month. The assembly renewed their solicitations in favour of Saint-Germain and several others, to whom Henry would have even preferred Marabat; but as a detail of these disputes is not sufficiently interesting to deserve any longer time should be taken up with it, I shall conclude it at once, by saying, that La-Nouë having promised his majesty by Roquelaure and me, that he would break with the duke of Bouillon, and recal his children from Sedan, the king chose him from among the three persons proposed for the nobility, and Du-Cros from those for the gown, who had Lefdiguieres to solicit for him. This choice, which was very agreeable to Henry, and highly praised by his ministers themselves, was made very seasonably to stop the mouths of some slanderers, who reported that the king, after receiving a letter from me, appeared so greatly enraged, that it was evident his design did not succeed well under my management. One trifling letter served them for a pretence to propagate this story. In my answer to Villeroi, who sent me a copy of it, I told him, that there were no persons who gave so little credit to this report as those who spread it.

As to the success of this affair, the glory of which was attributed entirely to me, without affecting a misplaced modesty, I shall freely own that I accomplished my designs, by convincing the greatest part of the protestant body, that they might safely rely upon Henry's intentions and sentiments with respect to them, for the preservation of their persons and interests; and that those few examples of severity, or rather justice, which they complained of, were greatly disproportionate to the injuries he had received from them. I would not have it imagined, that by speaking in this manner, I gave the protestants the least hint of those favourable designs for the party, with which the mind of Henry was then employed: to serve a prince at the expence of his secret was to betray him. I was even particularly

cautious upon this article with his majesty's ministers; and I don't know that I ever mentioned it in any of those letters I wrote to Henry himself, except one, in which I made some reflections upon the embassy to England, that were necessary to the subject I wrote upon: however, I earnestly entreated him to burn this letter, lest the same accident should happen to it as he knew had done to others. 1605.

What his majesty had most reason to complain of in the affair of the deputies, was, that his intention of appointing them himself, in the manner we have just seen, being signified to the assembly, seven protestant provinces met together, and sent to consult Du-Plessis upon this resolution, a fault which Henry with good reason attributed to Constant and D'Aubigné. The last instance which was made by the protestants on this subject was, that the duration of the deputies service with his majesty should be regulated by them, and be expressed in the brevet of election by the king, or at least in the act of nomination: had this been granted, there would have been a necessity for renewing this ceremony every year, and for calling an assembly for that purpose. These very motives induced the king to refuse it, for which I had already prepared them. At length they received the brevet in the form it was in, but not without returning many times to the charge.

The affair of the cautionary towns came next under consideration: although the term of eight years, expressed in the brevet of August 1598, given in consequence of the edict of Nantes, wanted yet a year of being expired, yet it was necessary to bring it upon the carpet this year, if we would avoid giving the protestant party a pretence for holding an assembly the next. It is certain, however, that it would not have been proposed at Châtelleraut, on any other terms than to have this matter left entirely to the king, without requiring a promise for three or four years, or a new brevet from his ma-

1605. jeſty, but that the aſſembly ſhould be informed in the ſame way I have juſt mentioned, not only that they might expect every reaſonable indulgence from Henry, but alſo that I had actually at that time in my poſſeſſion, a brevet from his majeſty for three years, and another for four: and it was upon this account, that the king found himſelf obliged to grant them a prolongation for four years. It may be alledged, that a year more or leſs was a very inconfiderable matter; and indeed Henry had no other view in laying a ſtreſs upon it, than to accuſtom them not to obtain whatever they ſhould take it into their heads to demand, and to be contented with thoſe favours he voluntarily granted them: as for what remained, there was nothing more certain than what I had ſaid to them in the beginning of my ſpeech to the aſſembly with regard to thoſe forts. Henry permitted me to inform the deputies, that it was at my ſolicitation he granted them this favour.

The two queſtions of the greateſt importance being decided, the aſſembly might be looked on as at an end: but, as there were alterations to be made in the brevets, of which I was the bearer, his majeſty would alſo have an article added, by which he declared, that the firſt eight years were to commence from the day on which the edict of Nantes was regiſtered in the parliament. Some time therefore was taken up in compoſing theſe two brevets, and ſending them to Châtelleraut.

During this time, the affair of Orange made noiſe enough to afford a ſubject for public diſcourſe. In order to reſtore this place to the prince of Orange its lawful maſter, it was neceſſary to withdraw Blacons*, who held it for the proteſtants; and here the king made uſe of Leſdiguieres, but ſo unreaſonably, that I believe all the difficulties which were found in the management of this affair, owed their

* Hecſtor de La-Forêt de Blacons.

rise to this choice : any one but Lesdiguières, whom 1605.
 Blacons had reason to think his mortal enemy, might have easily effected it. Blacons, who had long expected orders to leave Orange, wrote to me, that nothing could prevail upon him to neglect obeying his majesty's commands immediately, but the mortification and disgrace of being obliged to yield his post to a man who would make that ceremony an occasion of triumph over him. In my answer to this officer, I thought I was entitled to give him hopes that his majesty would alleviate the bitterness of this order; and I flattered myself, that if I had been at court, the affair would have been terminated otherwise; but Henry did not write to me concerning it till he had sent Bullion and Bellu-jon with his commands to Lesdiguières, which he informed me of in his letter, and desired I would send the necessary orders for carrying cannon to Orange. I suspected what had happened when I received this letter, and instantly acquainted the king with what I knew of Blacons' sentiments. I advised, I even intreated him, to send only an exempt of his guards to Orange upon this occasion, without setting up Lesdiguières against the man he hated.

My advice came too late; Lesdiguières, making use of the power the king had given him, listened to nothing but his hatred of Blacons, and in an imperious manner signified his majesty's orders to the governor and inhabitants, adding of himself, that if he did not obey them, he would give the king notice of it immediately. In the mean time, he wrote to his majesty, on the 24th of July, that he need not be under any apprehensions, because he knew how to reduce the governor of Orange without raising any commotions in the province. May it not be said, that Lesdiguières was afraid he should not find resistance enough? Blacons, who did not expect such an insult, instantly dispatched two couriers, one after another, to the king, to assure him,

1605. that he was ready to resign the place to any person his majesty thought proper, even although he were a catholic. His views, by taking this step, were, to prevail upon the king to alter his resolution of sending Lesdiguières, by the advice of those whose interest with his majesty he relied upon, and to suspend Lesdiguières's march, who he did not doubt would be with him as soon as possible. Blaccons had more enemies at court than friends; they thought this procedure shewed a strong disposition to rebellion, and they inspired Henry with the same opinion, which was certainly not very kind and disinterested on their side.

The king, however, notwithstanding all the violent counsels that were suggested to him, would not proceed suddenly to extremities with Blaccons: he answered him by sending an exempt of his guards to him, who was a protestant, and three or four archers of the guard, who signified to him, that, till further orders, it was his majesty's pleasure he should put the place as a deposit into the hands of the exempt, and come himself to court, where he might depend upon receiving from his majesty the most honourable treatment, and all the satisfaction he could desire. Henry at the same time ordered Bullion to tell Lesdiguières, that if Blaccons submitted to this last order, he was to stay peaceably at Grenoble, and not to have recourse to force, but in case the governor should refuse to obey: for which purpose, he sent him commissions to raise ten companies, consisting of one hundred men each; to make use likewise of five companies of Du-Bourg's regiment, and to increase them from sixty to two hundred men, and cannon in proportion. All these preparations were made in consequence of the courtiers persuading his majesty, that Blaccons would not submit to his proposal. Lesdiguières, who had already sent the king word, that the cannon of his province of Dauphiny had no carriages, desired some might be sent to him; or rather, because that
would

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would take up too much time, that he should be furnished with cannon from the arsenal of Lyons, which might be easily sent down the Rhone. It was apparent, that he had no inclination to disfigure his own fortresses. Accordingly the king wrote to me to send orders to the lieutenant-general of the artillery of Lyonnois and Dauphiny, conformable to the demands of Lesdiguières. It must be confessed that the king, in his transactions with the protestants, took such measures as might make it appear to them, that he was wholly guided by justice and moderation. But I could not approve of these extraordinary preparations, nor this needless expence; therefore, though I paid all the respect I ought to do to the orders his majesty gave me, yet I thought it my duty to oppose the desires of Lesdiguières, especially in what related to the cannon of Lyons, which seemed to be much better in that city than in any one of Dauphiny.

It appears strange to me, that Henry should be so long without perceiving that Lesdiguières only sought to be authorised in pursuing, with the utmost rigour, a man whom he hated with inveteracy. He did many things of his own authority, as soon as he thought he had some appearance of justice on his side; so that the state of affairs was quite altered before his majesty's couriers arrived. He was already at the head of a body of troops, within two leagues of Orange, from whence he haughtily summoned Blacons to receive him into the city. Bullion, when he returned from Dauphiny, endeavoured to justify Lesdiguières for taking this precipitate step (to call it no worse) saying, that he did it with an intention to begin immediately to make proper regulations in the castle, to disband part of the garrison, and send away some soldiers levied by the officers of the prince of Orange. It was not indeed surprising, that Lesdiguières should thus exceed his commission; Blacons no longer viewing him in any other light, than as an enemy who prosecuted his own

1605. own particular quarrel with him, gave him such an answer as obliged him to retire in some disorder to Montelimart. Lefdiguieres, fired with resentment at the disgrace this retreat brought upon him, observed no regard to truth in the letters he wrote to his majesty to inform him of all that had passed, but accused Blaccons of every thing his rage could suggest. Blaccons likewise sent a courier to his majesty, with complaints against Lefdiguieres; he accused him with having for a long time sought to make himself master of Orange, by means of a correspondence he carried on with a minister named Maurice: The friends of Lefdiguieres retorted this crime upon Blaccons, which they said they could prove by a letter he had written to his brother-in-law, at the very time that he was making protestations of obedience to the king; and that while he sent a polite message to Lefdiguieres, assuring him he was ready to receive him into the city, he was forming resolutions directly contrary. I would not answer for the truth of either of these accusations.

However that may be, the assembly of Châtelleraut was dissolved. While this dispute retarded the conclusion of the affair of Orange, the arrival of the two brevets, which his majesty had ordered Fresne to send me, gave great satisfaction to the assembly; they were dated August the 4th, 1605: it appeared there, that the king granted them to the protestants as a favour which ought to confirm them in the respect and fidelity they owed him. When I delivered them to the assembly, I declared that it was his majesty's pleasure they should break up, after first hearing from me the king's last intentions, that the people might be no longer kept in suspense in the provinces, where I was sensible the different reports concerning the result of the assembly, gave occasion for commotions equal to those when two parties are ready to come to blows. I enjoined the deputies, when they returned to their provinces, to give a sincere and candid representation of the manner in which

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which the king and his ministers had acted and treated with them; and carefully to avoid that arrogant behaviour, and that propensity to slander, which they had shewn in the assembly of Gap. I made a recapitulation of all the king's orders and demands, and justified each. I prevented their composing, before they separated, a new memorial of demands; and, in the king's name, expressly forbid them to call any general assembly without permission: I told them, that his majesty would never refuse them that favour when the occasion required it; but I made them sensible, at the same time, that they must not expect them to be so frequent for the future as they had been. I forgot not to add, that Henry did not thereby intend to prejudice in any manner their right of holding their ordinary conferences and synods, confined merely to affairs of religion; and concluded with repeating my prohibition to them, to hold any correspondence with persons suspected by his majesty. I was entirely satisfied with the inclinations I perceived in them; and was not deceived in my conjecture, that the assembly would propose to send a deputation to his majesty, to thank him for the indulgence he had shewn them, and to assure him of their inviolable respect. They were desirous of first knowing, whether this step would be agreeable to his majesty; and the answer they received being such as they had hoped for, the deputies appointed for that purpose set out for Paris to execute their commission.

I left Châtelleraut the same day that the assembly broke up, the king having ordered Sillery to acquaint me that I might do so; and often expressed his wishes for my return, and how necessary my presence was to him in the affairs of his council. This prince would write to me once more, though it was only to praise and thank me for the service which he said I had done him. But however solicitous he appeared for my return, yet he gave me permission to visit my estate of Berry, which I did not then think proper

1605. proper to do, because I would not accumulate more business than I was able to dispatch. Such was the issue of the assembly, which had engrossed the attention of the whole kingdom. When I strictly examined my own sentiments concerning it, I found, that the despair into which my proceedings there had thrown some of my brethren, did not interrupt the joy I felt for my success; because I was convinced, that I had more effectually served my religion and them by moderate and peaceable measures, than they could have done by their blind and impetuous zeal. Du-Plessis might possibly have felt the force of these reasonings in the letter I wrote to him; though my principal view by writing was to shew him his errors. He justified himself in a very studied letter; which he likewise sent to the king, along with mine, to shew that he had not left one of the heads of my accusation unanswered and uneffaced.

I went immediately to give an account of my conduct to the king. His majesty when he left Monceaux, where he had some slight fits of the gout, had returned to Paris the latter end of July, and from thence went to Saint-Germain to pass the beginning of August; he was there afflicted with a defluxion which fell upon his cheek and teeth, but was cured immediately by having his gums lanced; this indisposition obliged him to drink the waters and observe an exact regimen, which was his most effectual remedy. I found him at Fontainebleau, whither he had come from Saint-Germain; he embraced me twice with great tenderness, and permitted my secretaries and all my retinue to pay their respects to him; and after once more folding me in his arms, he led me into the long gallery of the garden of pines, where we had a conversation which lasted two hours.

His majesty began it by informing me of all the interesting news he had received from foreign countries, and afterwards of every thing that had passed during my absence, either in the council, in the af-
fairs

fairs of the finances, or in the court where his domestic quarrels, which were resumed with more violence than ever, made him often wish, he said, that I had been with him. He questioned me, in my turn, upon several particulars of my journey, especially concerning the dispositions the protestant churches and some of the heads of the party whom he named to me were in, as I might now have a full knowledge of them. I gave him great joy by the proofs I brought him of a voluntary submission from those persons, which, in all the rest, secured to him an unavoidable obedience: I made it plain to him that Lesdiguières, whose troops, forts, money, and capacity, were greatly exaggerated, who disturbed the tranquillity of his master, through a fear that his equivocal conduct would terminate in open rebellion, was nevertheless so weak in every respect, that if his majesty, with an army only of six thousand men, marched directly to him without stopping at any place, he would drive him immediately to his last intrenchment, where nothing could prevent his falling into his hands. At present it was not proper to proceed to such extremities with Lesdiguières, as he had not yet given sufficient cause for it. I represented to the king, that it was now time, and of the utmost consequence for the extinction of the rebellion, to undertake something against the duke of Bouillon, by using only the precaution of not putting protestant lieutenants into his towns, in the room of those who were leaving them: I engaged my word, that there was not one of those fortresses which would give us the trouble to batter it with our cannon.

These considerations determined Henry, although still with a little difficulty, to defer no longer his progress into the southern provinces of France, which has already been mentioned. His two motives for this journey, and for taking his rout through Auvergne and Limosin, were to seize all the towns belonging to the duke of Bouillon, and make such
severe

1605. severe examples of those who were convicted of conspiring against the state, as should stifle, for the future, all seeds of rebellion. For the first, he sent commissions to the duke of Epernon for levying three thousand foot; he added a like number to his regiment of guards, and gave orders that a squadron of eight or nine hundred disciplined companies of horse, as well gendarmes as light-horse, should be got ready to accompany him: for the second, he proposed to hold an extraordinary court, the arrests of which he designed to have published, and executed by a chamber of justice which he carried along with him, that nothing might retard the course of his justice. These terrible preparations were indeed absolutely necessary in the provinces, where it seemed as if the contagious air of civil broils was concentrated, when it was entirely dissipated every where else: this step likewise was necessary to bring the business of Orange to a conclusion; nor could it be made in a more favourable time, the affairs of Flanders and England affording him leisure this year, but which could not be of long duration.

I observed to the king, that since it was necessary this journey should be over before the month of October was expired, it ought not to be delayed a moment longer. Henry still thought I pressed him too much: however, at length he resolved upon every thing. It was agreed between us, that his majesty should march along the Loire with his troops both horse and foot, while I, with a train of artillery consisting of two cannons, two culverins, and two demi-culverins, should march by Montrond, which is the direct road. I left to Henry's directions every thing that related to the troops, and returned myself to Paris, to settle the affairs of the council with all possible expedition, and to name the members of the chamber *Des grand jours* *, whom it was necessary to send away first.

* An extraordinary sessions called by virtue of the king's commission or letters patent.

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At court, and in the council, it was supposed this journey would terminate in the same manner as that to Provence had done the year before. The orders which were given for so sudden a departure, in a season still farther advanced, furnished the indolent and sensual courtiers with a thousand new arguments against it; but when they saw that Henry was inflexible, they prepared to follow him, often cursing the man whom they supposed had given him the advice: but it threw the duke of Bouillon's partisans into the utmost consternation, who had not, as may be easily imagined, used any endeavours to divert the storm. La-Chapelle-Biron *, and Giversac, who were most faithfully devoted to him, as having received the most Spanish gold, intreated the sieur de Foussac † to go to court, and assure his majesty that they were ready to give him any testimony of their obedience which he should require: it was the people of Turenne only who made any shew of resistance; Rignac ‡ and Bassignac threw themselves into that place, provided it with ammunition, and lodged all the artillery in it upon the plat-forms. These advices were sent his majesty by Foussac and Baumeville, who dispatched the senechal de Brive with them; but all this was executed with so much terror and dismay, that the king, who had given d'Epemon and Roissy || orders to advance thither before him with their troops, did not think it necessary to strengthen them with the regiment of guards, as he had at first intended.

Foussac gave also some other informations, conformable to what had been said by Rodelle, concerning the state of the revolt in the provinces of Limosin, Perigord, and Quercy; and by him it was discovered, that the true cause why a great many gentlemen did not come and throw themselves at

* Charles de Charbonieres, sieur of La-Chapelle-Biron; Mark de Cuignac, sieur of Giversac.

† Raimund de Sognac, sieur de Foussac.

‡ Peter de Rignac; Gideon de Bassignac or Vassignac.

|| John-James de Mesmes, lord of Roissy.

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his majesty's feet, as they had intended, was, that l'Aubagnac had been sent from Sedan, to dissuade them from taking that step; and that many of them had also lately received considerable sums of Spanish money which had been distributed among them by Guienne. The duke of Bouillon, in whose name this money was given, recommended it to them, at the same time, not to be discouraged or alarmed at the preparations which were making against them, since he engaged his word to make things take another turn before October; and that his friends (those were his terms) should see him sooner than they hoped, and his enemies sooner than they desired: these sounding words effectually imposed upon them. Fouillac, however, assured the king, that there had not come more than ten or twelve thousand crowns from Spain; but Bouillon always supplying the want of money with confidence, had given them to understand, that this small sum was sent to them to be distributed amongst their subaltern friends, and that other sums far more considerable were reserved for them: they were simple enough to believe him, and after this no longer talked of soliciting for a pardon. The king ordered two hundred crowns to be given to Fouillac for the expences of his journey, and sent him back to continue on the spot.

He left Paris himself on the 15th or 16th of September*, escorted by the regiment of guards, and the squadron I have already mentioned, and began his march towards Orleans, while I took the rout before agreed on. He had not got farther than Hallier, before he saw the good effects of his journey: two gentlemen of Quercy named Cauffe and Brigantin, came to meet him at this place to implore a pardon for themselves, and a hundred and twenty other gentlemen; and that they might in some degree merit it, they offered to discover, in a court of

* In regard to this journey of Henry IV. to the Limosin, see De Thou, b. 24. the *Mercure François*, anno 1605, and the original of a letter wrote by Henry IV. to M. de Rosny. *Lettres de Henry le Grand.*

justice,

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justice; all that they knew of Bouillon's proceedings; and maintain the truth of their depositions with the points of their swords, and at the expence of their blood. These two deputies revealed likewise all the plots which had been carried on by Rignac and Bassignac, in the duke of Bouillon's favour; among others that of seizing Ville-neuve in Agenbis, for which Bouillon had not the least plausible pretence. It being at this place that his majesty had first received notice of the attempts made by d'Entragues, to deliver the count of Auvergne from his confinement in the Bastile, as I have related in order; he desired me to meet him at Orleans, which he expected to reach the next day, being Saturday, September the 24th, advising me to send the artillery in the mean time to Argenton, through which place he proposed to pass. These orders, however, were not executed, it being impossible for me to go to Orleans: his majesty approved of my reasons; and I gave him in writing the advice he demanded of me; which was conformable to those measures I had always solicited him to pursue with regard to d'Entragues.

Henry arrived at Orleans on the appointed day, and left that city on Monday the 26th of September: he avoided the road through Berry and Sologne, on account of the scarcity of provisions in that barren country, and the diseases which he was told prevailed there; he therefore marched towards Blois, and from thence to Montrichard; again appointing a rendezvous with me at Loches, expressing an earnest desire to confer with me personally upon the present state of affairs. Hitherto he had not received any marks of submission from the duke of Bouillon; on the contrary, the resistance of Rignac and Bassignac in Turenne, and Sinceraï was confirmed. From Metz he had advices; that Bouillon would have assistance from another quarter; the elector palatine; it was said; had, upon the report of the king's expedition, sent for his colonels and captains, and the

1605. governor of Luxemburg was making preparations and assembling forces. D'Epernon incessantly pressed the king to advance, and demanded, with some kind of displeasure, officers and provisions for the recruits, which he said he had raised with great difficulty. His majesty referred this business to me, desiring that I would give proper directions thereupon to D'Escures, or the other officers and inhabitants of those places: and with regard to Bouillon, he held himself prepared for resistance, although hitherto he saw no appearance of it.

In effect, this prince had scarce reached Blois, before he received a courier from the duke of Bouillon, who brought him a letter dated from Sedan, September the 20th, in which, after making his usual protestations of grief for having offended his majesty, and of his intentions to repair his fault at the price of his blood, he declared, that he had never entertained the least thought of disobeying his orders, or resisting his person; that he had given an absolute command to his lieutenants to receive him in all his towns and castles, a needless order, he added, since there was not one person belonging to him who did not look upon his majesty as his sovereign master; that he desired nothing more ardently than to have brought him the keys himself, and, with the utmost humility, implore to be again received into his favour. The king appeared satisfied with this procedure of Bouillon: however, he represented to him, that he ought to have sent Rignac and Bassignac, against whom such heavy crimes were alledged, to have justified their conduct personally. Blanchard was the man whom Henry was most desirous of seeing, as there was no person in the world who had a greater share of Bouillon's confidence, he being his steward, or was better acquainted with the steps of the whole party; but he did not appear: Henry therefore thought he ought not to discontinue his march, at least till he came to Limoges, that he might see how far the duke of
Bouillon's

Bouillon's lieutenants would carry their obedience. 1605:
However, Blanchard arrived at Blois before his majesty left that city; and what added to the king's satisfaction, he came voluntarily, and with an intention to obtain his pardon by making a faithful confession of all he knew.

In effect Blanchard unfolded the whole mystery of the plot; he acknowledged, that, seconding with all his power the bad intentions of the duke his master, he had been always obliged to have recourse to the mean artifice of exaggerating facts, enlarging views, and making promises a thousand times greater than he well knew could ever be performed: so that the execution of their designs had always been as remote, as they had affected to say it was near. Blanchard's deposition appeared to his majesty to be of such consequence; that he ordered him to give it him in writing: and now he began to be convinced of the justness of my opinion, which he had so long opposed; namely, that the duke of Bouillon's party made all this noise, only because they could do nothing more. Notwithstanding this, Henry would neither stop nor lay down his arms; till his will was complied with without any restriction. He remembered to have heard it said among the protestants, that the places the duke of Bouillon possessed did not belong to him; but to the whole party, having been given as cautionary towns, and held as such by officers of the reformed religion: he feared therefore that he might make use of this pretence to keep them; and thought it the securest way not to disband his troops, till Villepion, whom he had appointed to take possession of Turenne in his name, had been received into that capital of Bouillon's. I had written to La-Caillaudière that he might disband the cavalry: his majesty made me revoke this order; and in the beginning of October, left Blois and proceeded to Tours, having again altered his design of marching through Montrichard and Loches:

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The conveniency of the river and castle of Pleffis, determined the queen, who had attended his majesty to Blois, to go as far as Tours with him. The king, when he informed me of this alteration in his march, sent me word that, as soon as this princess had left him to return to Paris, he would continue his rout through La-Haye as far as Châtelleraut, where I had appointed to meet him. In proportion as his majesty advanced, all difficulties fell before him: Villepion was received without the least disturbance into Turenne; and before Henry reached Limoges, all the other towns depending on the duke of Bouillon, were yielded in the same manner to the officers his majesty sent thither to represent his person. All this was conformable to the duke's example, who continued to declare loudly, that he had no hand in the commotions of the province, and that he had been accused through mere calumny. Bassignac distinguished himself by his obstinacy; for, cutting his beard, and disguising himself, he fled through Geneva to Sedan.

Nothing more remaining to be done by arms, the chamber *des grand jours* began the exercise of its office: the king would not stay for the conclusion; he was weary of Limoges, after a stay of eight days there, and rode post to Paris. He left me in this province, invested with his authority, as well in criminal matters as for disbanding the troops, which kept me ten days after him. We went back to the source of the rebellion, by endeavouring to discover the first authors of it; and so successful were our inquiries, and the effects of them, that all remained peaceable for the future. It was thought sufficient to behead ten or twelve of the most active of the rebels, among whom, those of greatest note, were the two Luquisses, gentlemen of Languedoc, who have been already mentioned; and * Meirargues, a

* Lewis d'Alagon, or rather Lagonia, baron of Meirargues, was arrested at Paris, in the monastery

of Saint-Germain, together with the Spanish ambassador's secretary, and beheaded on the 19th of December.

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kinsman of the Joyeuse's; the first for having undertaken to deliver up Narbonne to the Spaniards, and the latter Marseilles. I have no reason to doubt, but, that after these examples of rigour, the hatred of the protestants against me was wound up to its utmost pitch. I cannot but complain of this unjust prejudice, which however did not extend to all: Theodore Beza was my friend, and his approbation alone was sufficient to comfort me for the causeless malice of a thousand others.

This venerable old man, who exercised the function of a minister at Geneva, was seized with an illness towards the latter end of this year, in the eighty-seventh year of his age; his distemper, that before the eclipse* of the sun, which has rendered this year memorable, was but very slight, grew fatal from that moment, and a few days after put a period to his life: he preserved, till the last moment, the full force and vigour of his mind, in a body weakened by infirmities and exhausted by age; he ordered his attendants to lift him out of his bed, and then, with the utmost fervour, he offered up his prayers to God,

cember; his body was quartered, and fixed over the principal gates of the city, and his head was carried to Marseilles, where it was fastened on the head of a pike over the chief gate. The king ordered the Spanish secretary to be set at liberty, without waiting for the determination of the question, at that time strongly debated, whether it is right to give up to the course of justice, an ambassador, resident, or any other foreign minister, who violates the law of nations. MSS. *Royaux*, 84.77. See also the discussion of this question, and Henry IV's discourse on this occasion to the Spanish ambassador, *Mem. de Nevers*, vol. II. p. 858. *Matthieu*, vol. II. book iii. p. 689. and other historians.

* This eclipse happened on the 2d of October, according to M. de Thou, and on the 3d, according to the *Mercuré François*, at one o'

clock in the afternoon; it continued two hours, and for half an hour it was as dark as possible: Le Grain says, that during an hour and an half, one could not, without difficulty, read or write without a candle. L'Etoile was freer than M. de Sully from the popular prejudices, in regard to eclipses: "Many strange maladies of different kinds, says he, raged in Paris at that time; and, together with the eclipse, which happened on the 2d of this month, eclipsed many persons who have never been seen since: dysenteries, especially, were very dangerous and mortal to those who happened to be attacked by them, and more in other places than at Paris; few of them escaping." Anno 1605. The same author says, that Bread was scarce the day after the eclipse.

1605. and in the most earnest and pathetic manner, exhorted all those who were present to a performance of the duties of religion and holiness; after which, he was again laid in bed, where he expired without pain, nature being quite worn out in him: he did not forget me in his last moments; and thinking that he owed me some acknowledgment for the visit I paid him at Geneva, and the service I did him, when I presented him to his majesty at the head of the other deputies from his city, he desired Deodati to present a book to me in his name, intituled, *The treasure of piety*; this was the New Testament, translated by him, with notes, which, together with the other versions, both antient and modern, formed a complete work: this he inscribed to me, and in the epistle dedicatory gave free scope to the favourable sentiments he entertained of me. Deodati punctually performed his last commands, and in the month of November sent me the book, with a letter, from whence these circumstances are taken.

I shall conclude my relation of his majesty's journey with that of a quarrel which happened between me and the count of Soissons, followed by another with the duke d'Epernon. The count having taken offence at something which the king had done or said to him when he left Paris, thought proper to revenge himself upon me. I had, as has been observed before, left my train of artillery, to take the direct road to Limoges, that I might meet his majesty at Châtelleraut. The count of Soissons ordered his harbinger to go to the quarter-masters, who were then employed in marking out the king's lodgment, and ask them which was reserved for me, and to take possession of it for him, in spite of all opposition. This was not so easy to be done as said. A great number of gentlemen of the province, who knew the rights of a governor as well as myself, being present when the count's harbinger was preparing to execute his orders, they prevented him, without even acquainting me with what they had done;

done. The count did not fail to complain to the king of this indignity, which he said his honour was concerned to resent; and, as an aggravation, added, that I had caused his harbinger to be beaten. 1605.

The king, who knew his humour, gave him but little satisfaction; but the count made so much noise, and asserted the fact so positively, that Henry sent D'Escures to me to know the truth. All I knew of the matter, which I told him, was, that upon receiving information of what was doing, I went to the place destined for my quarters, where I found above fifty Poitevin gentlemen, who all together exclaiming against the unjustifiable procedure of the count's harbinger, had made use of threats to prevent his going farther. The count of Soissons still insisted, that it was a designed insult upon him, and demanded justice of the king. He found none to take his part; and Henry, by all the arguments he could think of, endeavoured to convince him that his complaint was groundless: he told him, that all governors have a right in their provinces to take place of every one but the king; and that I, as grand master, had the additional right of claiming the next quarters to the king, when he marched in the body of the army; therefore it could be no encroachment to have only part of those quarters, when the whole is at the disposal of the grand master; no one pretending any right, or fixing on any part of it for himself, without my permission; and for this reason the quarter-master had put to mine the accustomed mark which secures his to the king; these are the words, *For the king*; the count of Soissons' harbinger therefore ought through respect to have abstained from his attempt.

None of these reasons having any weight with the count of Soissons, there was a necessity that Henry should think of some expedient to satisfy us both; and this expedient was, that when I came, as usual, to pay my respects to the king, I should make my compliments likewise to the count, and offer him,

1605. through mere politeness, my quarters; which the count, returning my civility, should refuse: this was accordingly done, but it was on my part only; for the count, making use of a mean artifice, from whence he afterwards derived a still meaner occasion for boast, suffered me to make all these advances, without any return on his side, and took possession of my quarters, because I could not decently unsay what I had said. But this joy, and the railleries which enhanced it, lasted no longer than till the next day.

As he was passing through the street where I lodged, followed only by two gentlemen (for he was going to hunt along with his majesty) he found the street filled with gentlemen, to the number of two hundred, who were waiting till I came out to mount my horse, and who, as soon as they saw him at a distance, crowded together, as if for diversion, so close, that they left no passage for the count; and his equerry, not being able to open him one, was obliged to cry out, *Make way, gentlemen, make way for monsieur the count*: but they, raising their voices all together, talked so loud, and so confusedly, that the equerry could not make himself heard; some of them muttering at the same time, that it was never known that a governor of a province was dispossessed of his lodgings in a place where he represented the king's person. The count was obliged to wait a quarter of an hour before he could get room to pass, and for a farther aggravation of his misfortune, not one of these gentlemen saluted him. This was a new subject for complaint to the king. His majesty told him, he was sorry for what had happened, but could do nothing for him, since he must not expect that, in complaisance to him, he would make enquiries among four or five hundred gentlemen for the persons who offended him, when he could point out no particular man; they at the same time supposing they had some right to take this revenge upon him, for an insult injurious to them all.

The

The count of Soissons found no one to take part in his resentment but the duke of Epernon, who was himself then violently enraged against me on the following occasion: the Rochellers hearing that his majesty would pass near their city in his march, sent a deputation to him of their chiefest citizens, as a mark of their gratitude and respect. I was the person to whom they applied; therefore the king ordered me to conduct them to audience, which he gave them in the presence of the whole court: they told his majesty they were come to intreat he would honour them with his presence in their city, since he was so near it; assuring him, that although he was at the head of an army of catholics, he should not be received with less respect and submission, than when he came formerly at the head of the protestant troops; and that if their gates were not wide enough to admit him and his train, they would throw down three hundred fathoms of their wall, since his repeated bounties had enabled them to rebuild it. They then presented the keys to him, with such sincere expressions of joy and affection, that the king was melted even to tears, embraced them thrice, and afterwards, entering into a familiar conversation with them on the times past, assured them, that in him they might always depend upon finding a protector of their liberty, and a zealous preserver of their privileges. 1605.

As I was going away at the conclusion of this ceremony, I met the duke of Epernon, who coming to wait upon the king, asked me what was doing? and I, without reflecting upon his question, answered it directly: but I was surpris'd to see, that at the recital I made him, his countenance was overspread with rage and disdain; and, a moment after, to hear him ask me, haughtily, whether I assumed any right in the government of Rochelle? and by what claim I took upon myself to present the deputies from that city to the king? I never thought it any meanness to give my friends satisfaction, in cases wherein

1605. wherein my conduct might appear doubtful to them; I therefore told him, that it was in the quality of an antient friend of that city, and by his majesty's command, that I had presented the deputies to him. He replied, with the same emotion as at first, that Rochelle being comprehended in his patent for governor, the king, the Rochellers, and I, had equally injured him. I could not help telling him, that the Rochellers would look upon his pretensions as very singular, but that it was from them, or rather from the king, that he was to desire an explanation, and not from me, since I had only acted by his majesty's orders, and without any intention to encroach upon the rights of other persons.

Saying this, I quitted him coolly, and he went to Henry to tell him the cause of his disgust: he returned more dissatisfied than he went, and all the resource he had was to mingle his grievances and complaints with those of the count. The malicious things they said of me on this occasion, which I had convincing proofs of, was the cause that I afterwards took D'Ornano's part in a quarrel which happened between him and d'Épernon, during the king's stay at Limoges. This increased d'Épernon's rage, and a third disgust which he received from me completed our estrangement from each other; he demanded assignments for the payment of the ammunition bread, furnished by the cities and large towns for the soldiers he had levied. I thought it my duty to acquaint the king before I complied with this request, who, knowing as well as myself that this money would remain in d'Épernon's purse, instead of being delivered to those to whom it belonged, gave me orders to refuse him. This was the rock upon which our reconciliation, our mutual promises of friendship, and those connexions which had been capable of giving umbrage to the king, were all split and destroyed.

At my return from Limoges, I went to give his majesty an account of the use I had made of that authority

1605.

authority he had confided in me: we had now a longer conversation together, than at my return from Châtelleraut, and upon the very same subject, policy and the quarrels at court. I found him this time also at Fontainebleau, whither he had come to pass the month of October and part of November; the queen was there also: the king and she met as they entered the court, she in her litter, and he on horseback, for he had rode post. He lost La-Riviere, his first physician there, whom he greatly regretted: he gave his post to Du-Laurens*, who was already first physician to the queen; and looked out for another for that princefs. I did not stay long at Fontainebleau; a thousand different affairs called me to Paris, where Henry had consideration enough to leave me a long time, without commanding my attendance on him.

I have yet mentioned but some part of those affairs queen Margaret had to communicate to me, in our interview at Cercote. As she proposed to quit her castle at Usson and reside in Paris, she was desirous of having my advice upon this occasion, and to know if she should be well received at court; whither it was necessary she should go, to prove that she did nothing without his majesty's consent. I assured her, that their majesties would receive her with the utmost respect; for I was well acquainted with their sentiments in regard to her. A bare assurance would not satisfy her; she insisted upon my engaging my word as a security, which I did without any hesitation; and she, on her side, promised to be governed wholly by my advice. After these mutual engagements, we separated; I took the road to

* Andrew Du-Laurens was the fourth principal physician, whose death Henry IV. had seen since his accession to the crown; and as he also died four years afterwards, Petit a physician of Gien, who succeeded him, was the fifth. M. de

Sully being intreated to procure Du-Laurens's office for Turquet, one of the physicians in ordinary to the king, who was a protestant, answered, "I have taken an oath never to recommend either a physician or a cook to the king."

1605. Châtelleraut, and Margaret that of the castle of Madrid, where she intended to lodge.

Henry, besides the inclination he had to oblige this princess, who well deserved that he should contribute to her satisfaction, had another reason for consenting that she should leave Usson*. He was extremely desirous of having this old castle in his own possession, as its situation, in a very suspected country, might make it one day a convenient retreat for the rebels, as the castle of Carlat had been. The king proposed to throw down this castle if it should be judged not worth preserving; for this purpose, he ordered me to send a faithful and intelligent commissary to the castle of Usson as soon as queen Margaret had left it, and to give him an exact information of the condition it was in at present, but he that should not discover with what intention he went. However, La-Varenne, coming soon after from queen Margaret, declared to Henry, that it would give her great trouble, if the castle of Usson was demolished so soon after her departure; upon which the king wrote to me to defer sending the commissary thither till he had seen that princess. This second order would have come too late, if happily the person whom I had resolved to employ, and who was one of the best engineers in the whole body of the artillery, had not been indisposed, which obliged him to put off his journey for some days.

The arrival of queen Margaret, and the kind reception Henry prepared to give her, occasioned some of those idle slanders which the foolish populace are so fond of propagating. The wisest way being to seem ignorant of them, the king made no alterations in those honours he was resolved to pay her.

*She had lived there near twenty years. On her leaving Agen, from whence she made her escape disguised in the habit of an ordinary citizen, riding behind Lignerac, she went to live at Carlat, a castle belonging to a gentleman called Mar-

tas. The marquis de Canillac carried her off from this castle, and shut her up in the castle of Usson, which place pleased her so much that she fixed her abode there, tho' she was left at liberty to quit it whenever she thought proper.

As soon as she came to Paris, he sent M. de Vendôme and Roquelaure, to pay his compliments to her, till he could visit her in person, for he was then at Monceaux: the queen also sent Châteauvieux in her name to this princess. On the 26th of July, Henry went in person to visit her, to Bois de Boulogne*, where she then was, having only passed through Paris. His majesty went at seven o'clock in the evening, and returned at ten. This inter-

1605.

* From thence she went to live in the palace of Sens near the Avenir: she afterwards hired a palace in the suburb of Saint-Germain opposite to the Louvre, where she continued till her death. This princess has been so much abused in the libels of that time, that one might be induced to accuse M. de Sully of partiality, in the praise he every where bestows on her in his Memoirs, if his testimony were not confirmed by our best historians. The author of *L'Histoire de la mere & du fils*, on their authority, speaks of her in the following manner. "Her degradation in point of rank, was so amply made up by her goodness and the royal virtues she possessed, as to render her still greatly respected. Like a true heiress of the illustrious house of Valois, she never bestowed a gift on any one, without making an apology for giving so little; she was the refuge of men of letters, loved to hear them talk, her table was constantly surrounded with them, and she learned so much from conversing with them, that she spoke better than any woman of her time, and wrote more correctly than most persons of her sex are capable of doing. In short, as charity is the queen of all virtues, this great princess crowned her's by giving alms, which she did with so liberal a hand to all who stood in need of them, that there was not a religious house in Paris which did not feel the effects

"of her bounty, nor one poor person who had recourse to her that did not meet with relief; therefore God out of his mercy repaid her, with usury, for that which she shewed to his people, giving her grace to make a truly christian end." &c. vol. I. p. 326. This is surely sufficient to compensate for a small number of levities and human weaknesses, which are the utmost of what this princess could ever be charged with. If any one is desirous of seeing further what has been written for or against her on this head, let him read messieurs De Thou, Duplex, Mezerai, father Daniel, father Hilarion de Coste's eulogium of illustrious ladies, Bassompierre, M. Bayle's dictionary under the word *Usson*, and an infinity of other writers. She died on the 27th of March 1615, at her palace in the Faubourg-Saint Germain, which has since been demolished; she was interred in the church of the reformed Augustins, since called the Little Augustins, which had been founded by her. "She was greatly regretted," says the Memoirs of the Regency of Mary de Medicis, "being a princess abounding in goodness of heart, eagerly fond of the welfare and repose of the state, who did no harm to any one besides herself." These few words, I apprehend, are sufficient to give us the perfect idea we ought to form of her character, and sufficiently agree with what M. de Sully says of her.

1605. view passed with equal satisfaction on both sides. The king spoke of the castle of Usson to this princess: she consented to what he proposed; and, in that whole affair, he never did any thing without first knowing whether it would be agreeable to her. On the 28th of the same month she came to Paris, to pay her respects to the queen, who came to the Louvre to receive her: she afterwards, on the 4th of August, went to Saint-Germain to see the Dauphin, and staid there four or five days with their majesties. Henry had no greater pleasure than the company of his children; as his frequent journies to Saint-Germain sufficiently proved. Queen Margaret returned to Bois de Boulogne on the 11th of the same month, greatly affected with their majesties obliging behaviour to her.

By the orders which she gave to her officers who remained at Usson, Barenton, who was sent thither by his majesty, found no opposition, and was put in immediate possession of the castle. He drew up a memorial of the state in which he found it, and brought it to the king, who, persisting in his resolution of dismantling this castle, ordered me to send an engineer or commissary of artillery there as soon as possible for that purpose. I was commissioned to thank queen Margaret in his name, for the chearfulness with which she had made this sacrifice; and to pay her the full value of all the stores and ammunition which were found at Usson, which Margaret had destined for the payment of the garrison she maintained there; if that princess did not rather chuse to give her soldiers these stores and provisions themselves.

I shall conclude the memoirs of the present year with an article, which I am already certain will have the approbation of all just and sensible persons; and for which I am also as secure of their acknowledgments. In all the principal cities of the kingdom; especially those which have arsenals and academies, there are also schools for the young nobility, in which

are taught all kinds of sports and exercises, as well military, as those designed merely to form a graceful carriage, and give strength and activity to the limbs: and these exercises are no-where more carefully cultivated than at Paris, where the spacious courts of the arsenal, destined to this use, are full almost every hour in the day. I was always of the same opinion as Henry concerning these exercises; he often asserted, that they were the most solid foundation, not only of discipline and other military virtues, but also of those noble sentiments, and that elevation of mind, which give one nation the pre-eminence over every other. I used to be present at them myself, when I could steal a moment from business, as well through the taste I had for such amusements, as because I thought my presence would excite a laudable emulation amongst the youth.

1605.

One afternoon in carnival time, when these sports were most frequent, I left my closet to shew myself to this assembly of young men, and came very seasonably to prevent the consequences of two quarrels, which, from that mistaken notion of honour to which France has made herself a slave, were likely to have been very fatal. These quarrels had taken their rise from a trifle, as it generally happens with the greatest part of those which have been followed by the most bloody catastrophes; but the king (I am grieved to say it) took so little care to enforce the observation of the edicts published by some of his predecessors, against that barbarous custom of duelling, that every day, and for the slightest occasions, some blood was shed.

I thought it my duty to endeavour to convince these young men who crowded about me, of the error they were in with regard to true valour; "It is," said I to them, in fields of war, and in actions which have the service of our country in view, that courage is permitted to be shown; that which arms us against our friends, or countrymen, in contempt of all laws, as well divine as human, is
" but

1605. "but a brutal fierceness, madness and real pusillanimity." I perceived, that the moral I endeavoured to inculcate appeared very strange to these young men, who were carried away by the heat of blood and ardour of youth: one of them, who, it was apparent, sought to give himself consequence with his fellows, replied, that princes having at all times permitted, nay authorised duels, they had passed into a custom, which holds the place of a law.

I contented myself for the present with making the youth sensible that he supported his argument upon false and erroneous principles, and with preventing the challenge from proceeding any further; but as soon as I retired, I gave free course to my reflexions upon the singularity of an abuse, unknown to the most polished, and at the same time bravest people. These reflexions, when thrown upon paper, composed a kind of memorial, which I thought it my duty to present to the king.

Duels, it is true, are of long standing in France, and indeed in Europe, but in that part only that has been overwhelmed by barbarians, from whose time this hateful custom takes its date, and appears therefore to be derived from them; and if histories of times more remote, such as that of the emperor Otho the first, and that of the divorce of Lothario, gives some instances of single combat, they may be opposed by prohibitions of equal antiquity, issued out by the power of the church, as that of the council of Valentia in 855, or by temporal authority. We have in France a very ancient edict, which forbids them in all civil causes, and in criminal causes limits them to five cases; high treason, rape, house-burning, murder, and nightly thefts. Saint Lewis * afterwards took away all restriction; and when

* On the subject of these edicts of Saint Lewis and Philip the fair, as also of the origin, manner, and whatever has relation to single combats, consult the writers who treat of it; such as Paul de Montboucher sieur of la Rivaudiere, in his *Traité sur les ceremonies and*

Philip the IVth, his grandson, seemed to restore them, 1303, in charges of state crimes, rapes, and house-burning, to which he reduced them, he was incited only by a motive at once deserving praise and censure; the hope of abolishing insensibly this custom of bloodshed, which had gathered strength in his time, by confining it to these rare cases set down in a positive law: to make this more evident, he forbade all manner of persons to allow them, by receiving what was called pledges of battle, and declared that right reserved to himself alone.

To shew, by explaining the difference between the ancient duels and those of our time, what a number of nameless abuses have crept into a practice, which itself was from its first original a corruption, it will be sufficient to lay down the circumstances and formalities which were observed in those times.

In the first place, nobody, however offended, might take vengeance in his own right; and as it is now practised in the first emotion of caprice and passion, and much less in mere bravado, which, in my opinion, is of all things the most contrary to the laws of society. They had their judges, before whom he that thought himself injured in his honour, was to give an account of the wrong suffered, and demand permission to prove, in the way of arms, that he did not lay upon his enemy a false accusation. It was then considered as shameful to desire blood for blood. The judge, who was commonly the lord of the place, made the person accused, appear likewise before him; and never allowed the decision of battle, which was demanded by throwing a glove, or some other pledge upon the ground, but when he could get no other proof either of guilt or innocence.

laws of challenges and single combats, &c. in 1608; John Savaron fleur of Villars, in his Treatise against duels, with the edict of Philip the fair, in 1610; Bran-

tôme, in the tenth volume of his Memoirs, intitled Touching Duels; D'Audiguier, Du-Piex, Ruault, Bagnage, &c. and many other Italians.

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The pledges were received, and the judge deferred the decision of the quarrel to the end of two months, during the first of which the two enemies were delivered each of them to common friends, upon security for their forthcoming: their friends endeavoured by all sorts of means to discover the person criminal, and to give him a sense of the injustice of maintaining a falsehood, from which he could expect nothing but the loss of his reputation, of his life, and of his soul; for they were persuaded, with the utmost degree of certainty, that heaven always gave the victory to the right cause; and therefore a duel, in their opinion, was an action of which the event could be determined by no human power. When the two months were expired, the two rivals were put into a close prison, and committed to the ecclesiastics, who employed every motive to make them change their design. If, after all this, they still persisted, a day was at last fixed to end their quarrel.

When the day was come, the two champions were brought fasting in the morning before the same judge, who obliged both of them to declare upon oath that they said the truth, after which they suffered them to eat; they were then armed in his presence, the kind of arms being likewise settled: four seconds, chosen with the same ceremonies, saw them undressed, and anointed all over the body with oil, and saw their beards and hair cut close. They were then conducted into an inclosed ground, and guarded by armed men, having been made to repeat, for the last time, their assertions and accusations, to see if they persisted in them without alterations. They were not even then suffered to advance to the combat: that moment their seconds joined them at the two ends of the field for another ceremony, which of itself was enough to make their weapons drop from their hands, at least if there had been any friendship between them. Their seconds made them kneel down in this place facing each other; they made

made them join hands, with the fingers of one put between the fingers of the other; they demanded justice from one another, and were conjured on each side not to support a falsity; they solemnly promised to act upon terms of honour, and not to aim at the victory by fraud and enchantment. The seconds examined their arms piece by piece, to see that nothing was wanting, and then conducted them to the two ends of the lists, where they made them say their prayers and make their confession; then asking each of them whether he had any message to send to his adversary, they suffered them to fall to, which they did at the signal of the herald, who cried from without the lists, *Let the brave combatants go.* After this, it is true, they fought without mercy, and the vanquished, dead or alive, incurred all the infamy of the crime and the punishment; he was dragged upon a hurdle in his shirt, and afterwards hanged or burnt, while the other returned honoured and triumphant, with a decree that attested him to have gained his suit, and allotted him all manner of satisfaction.

There is throughout all this ceremony something wild and ridiculous, but, however, the voice of reason, authority, and prudence, is still heard, though its dictates are utterly mistaken; whereas there is nothing but monstrous unreasonableness in the practice of those smart youths, who withdraw sily into a field to shed the blood of one another, with hands impelled by no better instinct than that which instigates a beast of prey. If men went to fight with the same coolness and deliberation as in former times, can it be imagined that there would be the hundredth part of the duels that now happen? But men have thought it necessary to dismiss consideration from that action, which is serious above all others: some rush blindly into this danger, others please themselves with being born for the destruction of their fellow-creatures; others revive the hateful trade of the gladiators; and are indeed more dreadful and

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1605. contemptible than the men that bore that name were heretofore.

The forms of duels which were observed in Germany, differ not essentially from those of France, which I have described: they were likewise received in Spain and England; only he who yielded to his adversary upon a single wound was reputed infamous; he could not afterwards either cut his beard, bear any office, wear a weapon, or mount a horse. On the contrary, he who died in a courageous defence was buried honourably. Another singularity, which must have kept duels from being common in Germany, was, that there were only three places where they could be fought, Witzbourg in Franconia, Uspach, and Hall in Swabia.

I could not wait for his majesty's return to Paris, to communicate to him the memorial of which I have now mentioned the contents; to inform him of the accidents to which this practice gave occasion; and to desire him to put a stop to an evil which was every day spreading by his indulgence. I intreated him to attend to the counsel which I had presumed to give him, to renew the edicts against duels, to aggravate the punishment considerably, and execute it severely; and to forbid all men to prosecute any word of injury or offence otherwise than by course of law; but to manage so, that the justice obtained might be speedy and satisfactory; to make the complainant easy, and the aggressor penitent; and lastly, to have this new order fixed up, at the beginning of every year, in the courts of the Louvre, the palace, the arsenal, and in other places that were most frequented*. It is certain, as I represented to his majesty, that a reputation for personal valour, such as this prince had established, was able to give to an edict concerning duels, twice the authority that

* If we attentively read what cardinal de Richelieu has said on this subject, in his Political Testament, part I. chap. iii. § 2. the title whereof is, *Of the means to prevent duels*; we must own, that great minister seems to have drawn all his reflections on this matter from this and other parts of these Memoirs where duels are spoken of.

it could derive from mere royal pleasure; but the pleasure of the master of kings, a power far superior, did not allow to the reign of Henry the Great, the extirpation of this abuse. 1605.

It may be said, without pretending to justify this prince, that his easiness with respect to duels proceeded from a habit contracted by his long wars, by which he saw bloodshed without emotion; and that he was likewise not much less indifferent about his own blood. He had always some notion that the last moment was inevitably predetermined: this opinion he disguised to himself, under the christian notion of resignation to God. There was sent me from Rome, about that time, an account of a conspiracy against the state, and an attempt upon the life of the king, which I thought I ought to disclose to him, though it seemed to me worthy to be despised, as indeed he despised it. He told me, on that occasion, that he was convinced of its being best for his happiness to pay no manner of regard to intelligence like this*, and that otherwise his life would be worse than death; that the calculators of nativities had threatened him, some, that he should die by the sword; and others by a coach: but that none of them had ever mentioned poison, which seemed to him the easiest way to dispatch him, because he eat a great deal of fruit of all kinds that were offered him, without having them tasted; therefore, upon the whole, he gave himself up to the Lord of his life and of his death.

It was not possible but speaking in this manner, Henry reckoned a little, without perceiving it, upon the good fortune that had accompanied him as well in the dangers that particularly threatened his person†, as those which regarded his kingdom and

* "Let him alone," said this prince to those who persuaded him to punish a man who had been engaged in a conspiracy against him, "he is a wicked wretch whom God will punish, without my

"interfering." Matthieu, vol. I. b. 2. p. 359.

† Henry IV. escaped one, on Monday the 19th of December; of which M. de Perfixe gives the following relation. "The same

1605. happiness. Of eight persons from whom he had most to fear in this latter respect, he remarked that some favourable planet had freed him from six of the most considerable; that one was dead in the hangman's hand, and two others of sickness; the fourth was actually in prison; the fifth was gone into voluntary banishment; the sixth was reduced to flatter him whom formerly he endeavoured to destroy. For the other sort of good fortune, we have seen examples throughout this history: but, alas! this good fortune was not complete; but an unhappy moment for France, as well as for the prince, has wholly blotted out that idea of prosperity.

“ day on which Mairargues was
 “ executed, an unfortunate mad-
 “ man made an attempt on the
 “ sacred person of the king, rush-
 “ ing on him with a poignard in
 “ his hand, as he returned from
 “ hunting over the Pont-neuf. His
 “ majesty's footmen running up
 “ obliged him to quit his hold, and
 “ were going to beat his brains
 “ out on the spot, had not the
 “ king forbid them, and ordered
 “ him to be imprisoned in Fort-
 “ L'Evêque. His name was John
 “ De-Lille, a native of Vineux near
 “ Senlis. He was immediately

“ afterwards examined by the pre-
 “ sident Jeannin, who could not
 “ get any rational answer from
 “ him; for he was entirely out of
 “ his senses: he fancied himself to
 “ be king of all the world, and
 “ said Henry IV. had usurped the
 “ kingdom of France from him,
 “ and he was therefore going to
 “ chastise him for his temerity;
 “ whereupon the king thinking
 “ him sufficiently punished by his
 “ madness, commanded he should
 “ only be kept in prison, where
 “ he died soon after.” History of
 Henry the Great, part 3.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XXIII.

THE king and queen being at Paris on the 1606.
first day of this year, I went to the Louvre in the morning, to pay my respects to them, and offer the usual presents. I did not find the king in his own chamber; L'Oserai and Armagnac told me, that he was in bed with the queen, and that, probably, both were still asleep, because the queen's indisposition had kept them awake almost the whole night. I passed on to the queen's apartment, to enquire of La-Renouillere and Catherine Selvage the state of their majesties health; and knocked at the door as softly as possible, that I might not wake them. I found that the courtiers were already admitted; for several voices, which I knew to be those of Roquelaure, Frontenac, and Beringhen, asked all at once, *Who is there?* and when I answered, I heard them say to the king, *Sire, it is the Grand Master:* "Come in," Rosny, said his majesty to me; you will think me lazy, till you know what has kept us so late in bed; my wife, who believes she is in her eighth month, having had some pains as she was going to bed, I was apprehensive that she would have

1606. " a dangerous labour; but towards the middle of
 " the night they proved to be only the effects of
 " the cholic; and she growing easy we fell asleep,
 " and neither of us waked till six o'clock this
 " morning; but on her part, with groans, sighs,
 " and tears, for which she has assigned imaginary
 " causes: I will tell you what they are when some
 " of these people have left the room, for you will
 " not fail to speak your sentiments freely, and I
 " believe your advice will not be unuseful on this
 " occasion, any more than on many others of the
 " same kind. But, in the mean time, let us see
 " what you have brought us for our new-year's-
 " gifts, for I perceive you have three of your se-
 " cretaries with you, each loaded with a velvet
 " bag." " I remember, sire, replied I, that when
 " I last saw the queen and your majesty together,
 " you were both in very good humour, and be-
 " lieving that I should find you still so, and in ex-
 " pectation of another son, I have brought you a
 " great many new-year's-gifts, which, from the
 " pleasure they will be received with by those per-
 " sons among whom I shall distribute them in your
 " name, will afford you great satisfaction; and I
 " could wish this might be done in the presence of
 " your majesty and the queen," " Though she says
 " nothing to you, replied the king, and plays the
 " dormouse, as usual, yet I know she is not asleep;
 " but she is offended both with you and I: we
 " will talk of this when only you, Renouillere,
 " Beringhen, and Catherine are present, for they
 " know something of the matter--- but let us see
 " your gifts." " These presents, said I to his ma-
 " jesty, do not express the state of a grand master
 " of the ordnance, nor are worthy of the treasurer
 " of a rich and powerful monarch; but, small as
 " they are, they will nevertheless give more joy
 " to those on whom they are bestowed, and will
 " produce you more acknowledgments, fame, and
 " praises, than the excessive gifts you lavish upon
 " per-

“ persons who I am well assured thank you only by
 “ complaints full of ingratitude.” “ I understand
 “ you by half a word, replied Henry, as you some-
 “ times shew you do me: but let us see your
 “ presents, and talk no more of what you have
 “ heard.”

I then ordered my three secretaries to approach.
 “ Sire, said I, here is Arnaud the elder, who car-
 “ ries in this bag, which holds the papers of the
 “ council, three purses of gold medals.” I shewed
 them to the king, and explained the motto, which
 expressed the affection of the people for his ma-
 jesty. “ One of these purses, sire, continued I,
 “ is for yourself, the other for the queen, and the
 “ third for the Dauphin; that is to say, for Ma-
 “ manga*, if her majesty does not keep it herself,
 “ as she always does. In this bag likewise are
 “ eight purses of silver medals, struck in the same
 “ manner, two for your majesty, two for the queen
 “ and four for Renouillere, Catherine Selvage, and
 “ such other ladies of the queen’s chamber as you
 “ shall please to give them to. Arnaud the younger
 “ has in his bag five and twenty purses of silver
 “ medals, to be distributed by the Dauphin, ma-
 “ dam de Montglat, madam de Drou, and made-
 “ moiselle de Piolant, among the nurses, and other
 “ women attendants on your children, and among
 “ the queen’s maids. And in the third bag, which
 “ Le-Gendre carries, there are thirty little bags,
 “ of a hundred crowns each, in demy-franks, all
 “ new, and so large that they look like whole ones;
 “ these are for presents to the queen’s maids, and
 “ the women of her chamber, and those belong-
 “ ing to the children of France, according to your
 “ orders. I have left two large bags in my coach,

* Madam de Montglat, whom
 the young prince called so. In the
 913th vol. of the king’s MSS.
 which is entirely filled with origi-
 nal letters of Henry IV. the queen,

and madam Elizabeth of France,
 to madam de Montglat, there is
 one from the young dauphin to his
 sister, in which he tells her, he
 kisses Mamanga’s hands.

“ to

1606. “ to the care of my servants, full of *douzains*, all
“ new likewise, and each bag worth a hundred
“ crowns, which make twelve thousand sous; these
“ are to be divided among the poor invalids who
“ are upon the keys of the river near the Louvre,
“ which I am told are almost full. I have sent
“ thither twelve of the most charitable men in the
“ city to range them in order, and distribute the
“ presents. You cannot imagine how much these
“ trifling new-year’s-gifts, in little pieces new
“ coined, will please these poor men, and the queen’s
“ maids and women of her chamber: they all de-
“ clare, that they do not regard these gifts for the
“ value, but as being instances of your regard for
“ them; especially the queen’s maids, who say,
“ that what is given them to purchase cloaths they
“ must lay out as directed, but these hundred
“ crowns they may lay out in what trifles they please,
“ which is more to their taste.” “ But, Rosny,
“ said his majesty to me, will you give them their
“ new-year’s gifts without making them kiss you
“ for them?” “ Truly, sire, replied I, since you
“ once commanded them to kiss me, I am under
“ no necessity of using prayers and intreaties, they
“ come very willingly; and madam de Drou, who
“ is so devout, only laughs at it.” “ Ah! Rosny,”
continued Henry, with the same gaiety, “ since it
“ is so, pray tell me truly, who kisses you most
“ willingly? and which of them do you think the
“ handsomest?” “ Faith, sire, returned I, I can-
“ not tell you, I have no leisure to think of gal-
“ lantry, and I believe they take as little notice of
“ my beauty as I of theirs: I kiss them as we do
“ relics when we present our offerings.” The king
could not help laughing aloud; and addressing him-
self to those who were present, “ What do you
“ think, said he, of this prodigal financier, who
“ makes such rich presents out of his master’s
“ pocket for a kiss?” After diverting himself a
few moments with this thought, “ Go to breakfast,
“ said

“ said he to the courtiers, and leave us to confer
 “ a little upon matters of more importance.”

1606.

Every one retiring but Renouillere and Catherine, the king gently pushing the queen, “ Awake,
 “ you dormouse, said he, give me a kiss, and be
 “ peevish no more, for all our little quarrels are al-
 “ ready forgot by me; I am solicitous to keep your
 “ mind easy, lest your health should suffer during
 “ your pregnancy: you imagine, pursued he, that
 “ Rosny favours me in our little disputes; but
 “ you would be undeceived, if you knew with what
 “ freedom he sometimes tells me truths: and tho’
 “ I often resent those liberties, yet I am not really
 “ offended with him for them; on the contrary, I
 “ should believe he no longer loved me, if he ceased
 “ to make me such remonstrances as he thought
 “ were necessary for the honour of my person, the
 “ good of my kingdom, and my people’s happiness;
 “ for be assured, my dear, added he, there
 “ are none so just and so upright, who would not
 “ wholly fall, if, when they began to stumble,
 “ they were not supported by the good councils of
 “ prudent friends and faithful servants: and to
 “ convince you of the truth of what I say, know
 “ that Rosny has been continually telling me, for
 “ these fifteen days past, that you are in your eighth
 “ month, and that I ought not to discompose you,
 “ for fear of hurting your son, for a son he insists
 “ upon it, it is*.”

This good prince, assuming an air still more tender and obliging, intreated her to tell him, before me, what was the cause of her waking sighing and in tears. The queen at last, turning to him, said,

* The astrologers had foretold it, says L’Etoile’s Journal, and that the queen’s life would be in danger. She was happily brought to bed of a daughter on the 10th of February. Henry IV. in order to comfort the queen (for she passionately desired to have a son) said

to her, with his usual gaiety, that if this daughter should not happen to meet with a proper establishment, there would be many others in the same condition; and that if her mother had not bore a daughter, she would not have been queen of France.

that

1606. that her grief was occasioned by a dream, which seemed to confirm what had been predicted to her a few days before, but that her mind had been relieved by weeping. She then, in her turn, intreated the king to spare her any farther uneasiness, at least while she was with child, and to avoid giving vent to such expressions, "which, said she, make me, as well as others, believe, that you are happier in the company of other persons than in mine, and those too, pursued she, whom I well know are not only unfaithful to you, but hate you in their hearts; I know the reason also, and I appeal for the truth of this to M, de Rosny, whose word I will take."

I avoided this explanation, by answering in a general manner, that it gave me great joy to see their majesties open their minds thus frankly upon their little quarrels; that I found it would not be difficult to put a final end to them for the future, if they would seriously resolve to yield to such means as would be used for that purpose, by persons who chose rather to serve their true interest than sooth their resentment. This proposal was accepted immediately, and they desired me to propose those means; the queen saying, that she was resolved to make use of them, and the king, that they would be highly agreeable to him. I then declared to their majesties in plain terms (having first convinced them, that any other remedy would end only in talking and acting to no purpose, as had hitherto been the case) that there was only one way of getting rid, at once, of all the occasions of these perplexities; that since they had reason to distrust their own steadiness, in taking and keeping resolutions, they should make choice of some person for this business, who while this decision was depending, and after it was determined, should take the whole upon himself, and act as if the king and queen were absolutely without concern in it. I advised them to chuse a man steady enough not to let himself

self be shaken by any consideration, and capable of such pure and honest affections, as to serve them, when the case required, by opposing their inclinations. 1606.

I discovered not the least inclination to be employed in this business, which indeed was not very agreeable; but I assured their majesties, that if it was upon me they cast their eyes, they must begin by being absolutely silent with respect to the means they saw me make use of; and that, to give me a security that my work should not be destroyed by any return of disgust, they should oblige themselves, in the most solemn manner, not to oppose any thing I should do, nor to preserve any resentment against me, although one of the parties, and perhaps both, must, by admitting the remedy I should make use of, do some violence to their inclinations. I believe they guessed what this remedy was*; and I may venture to assert, that if they had agreed to my proposal, no human consideration should have hindered me from pursuing it; but I had good reason to fear they would not suffer me to proceed thus far. However, the king replied, that he was ready to sign this engagement; but the queen, finding herself pressed, durst not venture to make any promise: she said she would consider of it; or otherwise, I must tell her what it was I intended to do. Yet she knew my intentions as well as the king, but was afraid of the consequences of a compromise. So we did nothing afterwards but talk of that matter to the wind; for such it is to discuss with a serious air the trifling projects of the court, which have been already so often exhausted and worn out. It was through complaisance for their majesties that I consented to engage in this business, they having earnestly pressed

* M. de Sully has acquainted us with it before, in the advice he gave the king, to send four or five persons over the mountains, and the like number over the seas, as he expresses himself.

1606.

me to it. I withdrew upon the queen's calling for her shift, and the king for his cloaths.

The king and queen made my wife and I very considerable presents, in return for my new-year's gifts; we likewise received some presents from queen Margaret. All the time the king staid in Paris was spent in balls, masquerades, and diversions of every kind. January the 10th this prince came to the Arsenal*, it being very fine weather, to see a course of running at the ring.

When the entertainment was over, Henry led me into the great walk in the gardens, where, leaning against the side of the balcony, I heard him with pleasure begin a serious conversation upon his political designs; the motto of my medals, with which he was greatly pleased, had turned his thoughts upon that subject. I had before perceived for some time, that Henry began to be more and more persuaded of the necessity and importance of this political plan; and that he every day removed some obstacle to the execution of it: he used often to say to me, that Philip III. had not profited by the wise councils of Philip II. his father, to look upon all those vain-glorious ideas of universal monarchy, with which his predecessors heads had been intoxicated, as so many idle chimera's: he added, that this prince, by all his proceedings, had made it evident he had not renounced them, and that there was not one among all the princes of Christendom, who would be exempted from the attacks of this proud and insolent monarchy, till it was made to feel its own impotence of power by that great blow, the design of which I had first hinted to him, and to the king of England; and which, as he owned, had not made all the impression on his mind it ought to have done. I believe the proceedings of the chamber *Des grand jours* in the former year, contributed most to this firmness of Henry; for by this dis-


* De Thou. Merc. Fr. ann. 1606.

covering

covering the secret practices of Spain against him, his natural hatred of that crown was greatly increased. 1606.

I may venture to affirm also, that the conversation we had together upon this subject had a great share in the resolution he had now taken; and indeed it was not possible for a prince, though he were ever so inattentive to his own glory, to reflect upon all which an insatiable avarice and boundless ambition had in these later times induced the house of Austria to undertake, without being seized with indignation. That Raoul de Habsbourg, whose noblest exploits, when his election to the empire was declared to him, had been to lead some soldiers into the neighbourhood of Basil, during the factions of the Etoiles and the Papequais, was never easy till he had divided Alsace between himself and the city of Strasbourg; and afterwards, increased his little domaine with the dutchies of Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and other hereditary lands which are still possessed by his family in Germany. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, when this happened, down to our own times, how many states, what an immense extent of country, has not this all-engrossing house devoured? the kingdoms of Spain, those of Naples and Sicily in Italy, the isles of Sardinia, Majorca and Minorca, Bohemia and Hungary in Germany, Burgundy, Flanders, and all the Low Countries; add to these, the acquisitions she has made in the eastern isles, and in the new world, equal almost in extent to all that is discovered of the three other parts of the earth. Can we still doubt then whether Charles V. who raised her to such an exalted pitch of power, intoxicated with such success, did not seriously think of swallowing up all the rest of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Is there a necessity to bring any other proofs of this vain scheme for universal monarchy than the destruction of the German protestants, the conquest of
Tunis

1606.  Tunis and Algiers, the invasion of France, so openly declared by the irruption made into Provence, and by the famous siege of Metz; enterprises formed at one time by that monarch? And if we have seen this project blasted, to what can we attribute it, except to different circumstances, and obstacles raised against himself by the precipitation of a mind which, in the intoxication of success, thinks every thing possible? Charles V. undertook too many things at once, and those greatly beyond his strength; he engaged in those enterprises without caution, and almost without any preparation; he braved earth, sea, the elements, and seasons. Soliman, who made head against him in Europe, Asia, and Afric; Francis the first, Henry the eighth, the Pope, the kings of Navarre, Tunis, and Algiers, were enemies he despised, and whom he scarce took any notice of: he knew not how to manage the only resources which remained for him; his own subjects rebelled against him in Spain, Flanders, and Sicily: at length, when he acknowledged his error, he found no other remedy for it but an effort of despair, which made him abandon all, to confine himself to the gloom of a cloister. I never drew this picture to Henry without adding, that Philip the second, as ambitious as his father, but a better politician, had resumed all his designs, and might possibly have succeeded in them, if his private views upon France, England, and Ireland, had not been crossed by the lucky chance that had brought together two such able heads, as those of Henry and Elizabeth*.

I had always been apprehensive of the effects of the courtiers suggestions, and the persuasions of the queen. This princess was continually representing

* It could only be with a view to invade France in general, or some part of it, that Philip II. intended to possess himself of the duke of Savoy's dominions, by

giving the duke some of his own in exchange for them. Matthieu the historian informs us of this circumstance, vol. II. b. ii. p. 240.

to the king her husband, the advantages of a double alliance with Spain; she affirmed, that if France was united with Rome, and the two Austrian branches, it would be an effectual way to extinguish all factions in Europe, and that policy as well as religion dictated this method. Henry assured me, that this sort of conversation, which had prevailed at court for some time, no longer affected him; and if he sometimes heard and answered such discourse, like one who sought to convince himself by making solid objections, it was only to hinder those persons from penetrating into his designs, and to flatter them with the hope of gaining him over to theirs, till a proper time came for taking off the masque. We agreed that matters were not yet ripe enough for that; and this conversation concluded, as many others on the same subject had done, by agreeing that, till that moment arrived, it was Henry's part to continue his endeavours for drawing into this association the princes of Germany and Italy, the dukes of Bavaria and Savoy, the former especially, by the prospect of gaining the imperial crown, and the latter by the hopes of acquiring Lombardy, and the regal dignity granted in favour of a marriage betwixt his eldest son and the eldest daughter of France.

The king could think of no other means to remove those obstacles which he had reason to expect the duke of Bouillon would raise, than to reduce him to reason, by seizing the city of Sedan. This expedient Henry's own mind suggested to him; and he resolved upon it so much the more willingly, as he could undertake this expedition without creating any suspicion of his other designs. He ordered me to prepare immediately a train of artillery, proportionable rather to the reputation of that place, than its real strength, which this prince did not know quite so well as myself: he declared to me, that he was resolved to march thither in person, unless he was prevented from it by the gout or some other in-

1606. disposition, in which case he would commit the conduct of this enterprise to me; and that I might join together the authority and dignity suitable to the high employments I exercised, his majesty offered me that moment, and indeed commanded me to accept the rank of duke and peer, desiring me to tell him from which of my estates I would chuse to take my title, that he might order Villeroi to make out the patent immediately.


I had refused this dignity before when the king sent me ambassador to England; but, since that time, the repeated bounties of this indulgent master had removed the obstacle which hindered me from taking advantage of his favourable intentions; and finding likewise that this prince wished me to be raised to this rank as much for his own interest as mine, I accepted this new favour with the highest acknowledgement. I named the lands of Sully for my title, and the patent for it was signed on the 12th of February, sealed a few days afterwards, and registered on the last of the same month*. All the lords of the court, and the greatest part of the grandees of the kingdom, were pleased to accompany me when I went to the parliament for the ceremony of my reception, which was still further honoured by the presence of all the princes of the blood, except the count of Soissons; the great chamber, the hall, all the galleries, and the very courts themselves were so full, that there was scarce room to move. I carried sixty persons of the highest quality home with me to the Arsenal, where an entertainment of flesh and fish was prepared for them, and was most agreeably surprised to find his majesty, who went thither during the ceremony without giving me notice of his intention. "Grand master," cried the king, as soon as I entered,

* De Thou, b. xxxvi. and almost all the historians, mention the distinguished manner in which this dignity, was conferred on the

marquis de Rosny. Henry IV. had before made him honorary counsellor of the parliament.

“ I am come to the feast without being invited; 1606.
 “ shall I have a bad dinner?” “ It is possible you
 “ may, Sire, I replied, since I did not expect to
 “ be honoured with your presence.” “ I assure you
 “ I shall not,” returning the king, preventing my
 acknowledgments, “ for while I waited your re-
 “ turn, I visited your kitchens, where I have seen
 “ the finest fish imaginable, and ragouts in my own
 “ taste; and because you stayed too long I have al-
 “ layed my hunger with some oysters, and drank
 “ some of your wine of Arbois, which I think is
 “ the best I ever tasted.” The king’s gaiety
 heightened the pleasure of the entertainment; and
 the rest of the day was passed to the entire satisfac-
 tion of the guests.

His majesty sent for me the next morning, and,
 in the presence of all the courtiers, asked me whe-
 ther I had remembered to make a memorial of the
 train of artillery for the attack of Sedan which he
 had mentioned to me: it was already drawn up;
 and when I left my closet I put it into my poc-
 ket. I now presented it to the king, who caused
 it to be read aloud, by which means the courtiers
 were acquainted with the king’s design; who after-
 wards humorously said, that the duke of Bouillon,
 though a naturalised German, had not probably
 forgot the French language, but that if it was so,
 we might teach it him in a little time by this me-
 thod. His majesty then seeming to expect my
 advice concerning this war, I told him, that I did
 not think the duke of Bouillon had so little judg-
 ment, as not to be sensible of the vast dispropor-
 tion betwixt his majesty’s forces and his own, or so
 imprudent as to expose himself to the danger of
 knowing it by experience; that I had a long time
 foreseen his city would not hold out against the can-
 non; and knowing this better than any other, I was
 assured that, if he made any shew of resistance, it
 was only with a hope that, during that time, he
 might employ more successfully the arts of nego-
 tiation;

1606.  tiation; yet that I took the liberty to advise his majesty to write once more to the duke of Bouillon, and let him know that, in the present conjuncture, he might come with full security and throw himself at his feet, and be very certain that, upon this submission and more exactness in keeping his word for the future, his pardon would be granted and himself treated as formerly; but that if he refused this last favour, he must no longer expect to be received upon any terms of composition. After this I continued to give the king an account of the preparations I had made; the king approved of the hint I gave him, to send away only the body of the artillery from Paris, and to take up the ammunition and other necessary provisions in places nearer Sedan, to save the expences of carriage.

This affair was not pushed on as vigorously as I had expected it would, on account of the great opposition it met with at court, where the least preparation for war seemed to give as much alarm as it could do to the enemies themselves. Nothing was talked of but the difficulties to be encountered before a town, the fortifications and situation of which every one exaggerated to Henry, and of the inconveniences which would attend a siege as long as that must inevitably be: to hear them, one would have imagined that heaven and earth were interested in favour of Bouillon and his city. They contrived that a memorial on this subject, in the form of a letter, should fall into his majesty's hands, full not only of absurdity but impertinence; the king thought the style of it resembled that of the duke of Bouillon, with some strokes of Duplessis and Tilenus: it was not surprising that the particular friends of Bouillon or the protestants should talk in this manner, such as Montluet, La-Nouë, and the two Saint-Germains, who might think the whole protestant body concerned in this business; but it was strange that persons who had no connexion with the duke of Bouillon, and even others

others who understood fortification, as the engineer Erard for instance, should never mention this design but to shew the impossibility of executing it: it would be very difficult for me to believe that these persons wished well to the undertaking.

The king himself fell into an irresolution which was wholly incomprehensible to me: I often represented to him, but in vain, that he would, by this procedure, give all the advantage of the cause to persons who, having neither arms, hearts, nor hands, depended upon this resource alone: and it is certain, that the duke of Bouillon would not have seen matters carried so far as they were, but because he persuaded himself, upon the report of his friends at court, who gave him intelligence of what passed there, that his majesty would never carry his designs into execution. Another expedient which those persons made use of, was to tell the king that the duke had no intention to resist him, but that he could not resolve to appear weak and fearful before persons, who, instead of making him a faithful report of his majesty's intentions, seemed solicitous to widen their difference by threats and insults; that if, instead of those persons (and here I was certainly meant) his majesty would be pleased to treat with him, by men proper to inspire him with a confidence in his promises, he would be soon convinced of the truth of their assertions. Montluet * and La Nouë, among others, boasted that they would, without any difficulty, bring him back to his duty; therefore the king thought the best thing he could do was to depute them to him: they brought back nothing but words, and those general and ambiguous; yet this did not open Henry's eyes, because they likewise represented to him that Sedan, by the new fortifications which were raised there, was absolutely impregnable. I know not whether they really were carried away by this false opinion,

* Francis d'Angennes, sieur of Montluet. Odet de La Nouë.

1606. or only affected to appear so: but Henry, instead of hastening his preparations after this answer from the duke of Bouillon, discovered more plainly, that he thought the success of this attempt very doubtful.

I likewise reflected seriously upon the disposition in which I saw the king, and began to fear, that when by supporting him against the general outcry, and against his own apprehensions, I should have embarked him in the enterprise; upon some unforeseen difficulty which he might probably meet with, or by not having influence enough over his mind already strongly prepossessed, he might abandon it after great noise and expence, or possibly listen to proposals for an accommodation with the duke, upon conditions neither suitable to his person or dignity; in which case it would be better either not to engage in the attempt, or to find, while it was yet time, some other way to save his majesty's honour. I was very sure, that the reproach of making an useless armament, could not but fall upon me; that I should be accused of having done too much or too little, and that faults absolutely contradictory to each other would be imputed to me from the same persons. I concluded that it was necessary Henry should of himself come to some determination; and I was willing to see what would be the result of his own reflexions.

I began therefore to speak less frequently, and with more coolness than before of the enterprise of Sedan, and observed the same conduct in public; the king was one of the first who perceived this alteration; and as he did not endeavour to penetrate into my reasons for this behaviour, or thought that I had changed my opinion concerning the duke of Bouillon and Sedan, it came into his mind that, having myself reflected more deeply upon the advice I had given him, I now tacitly retracted it, perceiving that the blow I was aiming against one of the heads of the protestants might fall upon the whole

whole body, by opening a way to oppress, one after the other, all who supported them in France. From this thought, which was already firmly established, Henry easily passed to a belief that I had no great reliance upon his equity, or that my attachment to my religion carried me too far: he declared this suspicion to several persons whom he knew to be my friends, and in order to have it cleared up by myself, he came to the Arsenal. I was then confined to my chamber, by the wound I had formerly received in my mouth and neck, from whence issued a splinter of bone, some lint, lead, and some grains of gunpowder, still so fresh and so little altered, that they took fire when laid on some burning coals.

Henry turning the discourse upon the duke of Bouillon, "I think, said he, you are not so solicitous about this affair of Sedan, as you were some time ago, nor so firm and steady in your resolves concerning it as I have known you to be on other occasions, where far greater difficulties were to be expected; what is the meaning of it? tell me freely I entreat you, and do not conceal any thing from me." This prince, by an effect of the liveliness of his temper, did not give me time to reply, but proceeded to discover the notion he had entertained of my alarms and apprehensions with respect to the protestant body in France. He protested with great earnestness against the suspicion of his labouring to ruin the chief protestants one after the other; he appealed to the knowledge I had of his sentiments, and asked whether it was not true, that it was generally known that, in whatever concerned the service of his person and his table, he chose rather to trust himself in the hands of the protestants than the catholics; and he assured me also, that he had no personal hatred to the duke of Bouillon; that he would require nothing dishonourable of him; in a word, that he would make me judge of the manner in which he ought to be treated.

1606, I was pleased to hear the king speak thus, and assured him, that I was well convinced of his favourable sentiments for the protestants in general, and for me in particular; yet I owned, that the suspicion he had entertained of me with regard to the affair of Sedan had given me uneasiness: I declared to him the true cause of that coldness he taxed me with; and, having afterwards exhausted all the reflexions which the mind could suggest on this occasion, I disclosed one to him which had occurred to no one but myself; and this was, that the expences Bouillon had been at in fortifying Sedan having entirely exhausted his funds, and probably involved him in great debts, this might be the real cause of his not yielding to his majesty's desires, since, if he resigned Sedan to him, he would deprive himself of the only resource he had to retrieve his affairs; and this supposed, perhaps all that was necessary to bring the affair to a happy conclusion, was to offer the duke of Bouillon a sum sufficient to pay his debts. I represented to the king, that if, by giving Bouillon two hundred thousand crowns, he might be prevailed upon to accept all the other conditions, his majesty would be still a gainer of six hundred thousand, since the expence of the armament he was preparing could not amount to less than eight hundred thousand crowns. A new motive for treating Bouillon with the utmost rigour of war, if he obliged the king to attack him, was to declare not only the principality of Sedan, but the viscounty of Turenne likewise reunited to the crown; although he pretended to hold them both of France in the same manner as they do the great fiefs of the crown: I added, that unless his majesty did this, he would have the mortification of having made advances, for which afterwards nothing could make amends. It should seem that it was a kind of foresight of what happened, which made me insist so earnestly upon this alternative, either to shew an extreme indulgence before the enterprise was begun,
or,

or, when we had once taken up arms, an inflexible resolution. 1606.

The king replied, that to enter into a negotiation with Bouillon, would be to confirm him in the opinion, it appeared by the letter already mentioned he entertained, that his majesty durst not attack him: he consented, however, to let me try this method in concert with the princess of Orange*, who was then at Paris, and that we should send Du-Maurier† to the duke with dispatches, the purport and terms of which he left wholly to me. "But you must likewise promise me, added Henry, that, if he should not accept the offers you make him, you will serve me impartially in this affair, and in the manner you have done before," pursued he, instancing the siege of Amiens, the campaign of Savoy, and other enterprizes of the same kind. This I faithfully promised. "It is enough," said Henry, taking my hand; "I am satisfied, and will rely entirely upon your capacity and fidelity." Saying this he left me.

I went the next day to the princess of Orange, and concerted with her the manner in which we should both write to the duke of Bouillon. We settled the deputation of Du-Maurier, and the matter of the instructions which were to be given him. This is the substance of the letter I wrote to the duke; I began by calling to his remembrance the power and personal abilities of the present king, both as well known to himself as to me; and I intreated him to reflect well upon the advantages they gave him, since this was the surest way to avoid the dangers with which he was threatened, and to prevent being blinded by his own prejudices, or carried away by the violence of his passions. This was not indeed

* Louisa de Coligny the admiral's daughter, first married to the count de Taligny, who was killed on St. Bartholomew's day; and a second time to William of Nassau

prince of Orange, whose widow she then was.

† Benjamin Aubery du Maurier, at first attached to the duke of Bouillon, afterwards to the duke of Sully.

1606. to flatter, but, as I told him, it was to give him a clear notion of what he might expect, and to prevail upon him to follow the advice offered him by the princefs of Orange, and by a man who foli-cited him as a friend, not to reduce himfelf to the neceffity of giving to force, what nothing but his own obftinacy would hinder him from granting to conditions dictated by the utmoft gentlenefs. I did not enter into a detail of the propofals, but informed him, that Du-Maurier was commiffioned to make them to him perfonally; befides which, we had reduced to writing all that he had to fay to him in our names, that nothing might be forgot or miftaken. I prevented the objections which I fupposed he would make, that his majefty did not appear to have any part in the propofals we made him, by giving him my word of honour, and even offering to become furety, if neceffary, that his majefty would ratify whatever fhould be agreed on betwixt us; adding, that I was willing to be branded with the names of bafe, perfidious, and difhonourable, if every article was not performed. I concluded with earneftly intreating him not to fuffer matters to come to an extremity. This letter, which exactly agreed with that written by the princefs of Orange, was dated the 1ft of March.

The duke of Bouillon answered by a letter, dated the 4th of the fame month: he told me, that he had received a letter from me, as likewise one from the princefs of Orange; that he had heard what Du-Maurier had to fay, and had read his paper attentively, but that he had reafon to complain he fhould be obliged to purchafe the king's favour by a meanefs which would render him unworthy of it; that what was promifed him was only by a writing, which could be known but to a fmall number of perfons, while all France would be witnefs of his humiliation, and the little regard the king would afterwards have for him; that his friends whom he had confulted, and who were not fo inconfiderable for

for their number as has been reported, were all of his opinion; that his majesty was very far from having those favourable thoughts of him which he had been made to hope for, since he distrusted his fidelity so much as not to allow him to keep a place of so little strength as Sedan. And here he added, but with more confidence, and in contradiction to what he had just said, that he was well informed there were persons who attempted to impose upon his majesty, by promising to make him master of Sedan in less than a month, and without the loss of one single man. Bouillon, no doubt, applauded himself here on the ingenious way he had found to give me the lye in speaking to myself. The whole letter was in this strain of complaints without foundation, and protestations of innocence, equally vague and uncertain. He took care to avoid making any confession or promise; and all that he said to the purpose, after this idle preface, was, that if he had given the king any cause to be offended with him, rather than aggravate his fault by denying, he was ready to make a frank confession of it, and to submit to any reparation his majesty should require, provided it was not expected the return of his favour and confidence should cost him his poor inconsiderable city, which he was ready, in an authentic manner, to declare that he held only from his goodness; but that if the king persisted in his resolution to deprive him of it, he should be forced to believe, that though his words expressed kindness, yet his actions testified hatred.

Bouillon's letter to the princess of Orange was conceived almost in the same terms; and what Du-Maurier related from himself having nothing more satisfactory in it, the king began to consider the duke of Bouillon as wholly untractable. I thought it necessary, however, to answer his letter: I told him that his majesty was displeased at the manner in which he had refused the offers he had made him by me; that he had thought his letters full of distrust, doubts,

1606. doubts, and of expressions very disrespectful to him; besides his affectation of not answering precisely to what was proposed to him. I added, that I was truly grieved my advice should have no other effect but to imbitter his mind, as it had happened formerly, when I wrote to him upon the imprisonment of marechal Biron; but that the time would come, and perhaps it was already near, when he would be sensible that the counsel I had given him was in the present conjuncture the best that could be offered; and I warned him, for the last time, to think seriously of it, and earnestly entreated him to take such a resolution as would be most for his true interest, since nothing (whatever he might think to the contrary) would give me more satisfaction.

In the mean time I had found means to get a plan of Sedan drawn, both of the upright and the ground-plot. The king came to the Arsenal to look at it, and brought with him the count of Soissons, the duke of Épernon, the marechals Brissac, Fervaques, Bellegarde, and Roquelaure, Don John de Medicis, De-Vic, Montluet, La-Nouë, Boësse, Nerestan, D'Escures, Erard, and Châtillon, who had drawn the plan, but whom I had expressly ordered not to give his opinion before so many witnesses. The situation of the place, its strength, and the form of the attack, were subjects for endless debate among so many persons: Montluet, La-Nouë, and Erard, maintained with great obstinacy, that it was impregnable, and could only be reduced by famine. All this while I scarce made any answer, though they generally addressed themselves to me, and often demanded my thoughts of those terrible fosses, all cut in the rock, for so they alledged they were.

The assembly separating without taking any resolution, I waited upon his majesty the next day; and after telling him my reason for keeping silence the day before, which was, that among so many persons secrecy is but ill kept, I made him sensible, that none of those diligent observers had attended to

any of the defects in the fortification, among which were, the valley of the fountain, that of Ginmenes, the fosses, which in some places were not defended by the natural rock, but flanked with earth brought thither for the purpose; and the two approaches by the river side, one above and the other below, so spacious, that I assured his majesty I would lodge, and that with very little danger, all the troops within two hundred paces of the city, and even under the counterescarp of the artificial ditches, because that the turning of the valleys would cover them from the discharge of the small arms, while the besieged would not be able to shew themselves upon their parapets, nor scarcely in any other place, without being perceived from the eminences in the field, which so absolutely command the whole body of the fortification, that we might have a full view of the inside of the lodgments, from before, behind, and of each side: and I gave his majesty my word, that within the eighth day after the batteries were raised, I would put him in possession of Sedan.

This once the king believed me, and in the joy that transported him he flew to impart it to messieurs de Medicis, de La-Force, De-Vic, de Nérestan, and Boësse, whose discretion he was well assured of, and who greatly praised my caution. After this, Henry no longer hesitated whether he should attack Sedan, but prepared to set out as soon as possible, at the head of a body of cavalry, and some companies of the regiment of guards; while I, in the mean time, assembled the rest of the troops in a body, and sent away the artillery before; taking care that the country people and citizens should receive no insult, or suffer the least inconvenience, by the quartering of so great a number of soldiers.

The design of falling upon the duke of Bouillon could not fail to raise murmurs among the protestants; and it is probable, that the duke depended upon a general insurrection in his favour. If this was the case, he was deceived in his expectations;

1606. to which, I confess, I contributed. I took occasion, from a letter that Parabere wrote to me upon this subject, to give in my answer a kind of manifesto, which might justify to the protestants the king's proceedings, and shew that the duke of Bouillon suffered only through his own fault. It was for this reason that I took much more pains in the composition of this letter, and extended it to greater length, than I should have done if Parabere only had been to see it; for I suspected, and with reason, that it would be made public.

I began with enumerating the chief favours which Bouillon had received from his majesty, who had preferred him to the prince of Condé himself, made him marechal of France, first gentleman of the bed-chamber, and raised, before any other of the protestants, to all honours and dignities, rewarded with pensions and appointments much larger than what were given to the others, his pensions, salaries, &c. amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand livres a year; besides which, his majesty had married him as advantageously as he could have done his own son or brother; favoured him in the succession of Limeuil, and, after the death of the duchess his wife, supported him with all his power: this particular I was myself an ocular witness of, and I spoke of it as such. These acts of kindness, and these repeated benefits, I contrasted with the ingratitude with which Bouillon had behaved to Henry; his secret practices, his seditious conduct at the siege of Amiens, his retiring from court when marechal Biron was arrested, and his leaving the kingdom, which was attended with circumstances more than sufficient to condemn him. I took Parabere to witness, that notwithstanding all this, himself, Constant, and I had been greatly instrumental in soliciting those favours which his majesty had since been still willing to bestow upon him: I observed to him, that Bouillon had in some sort confessed himself guilty of high treason, by his requesting a
full

full and general pardon; and when his majesty appeared ready to grant it, eluded all by a subterfuge which was in itself a crime; for he, tho' a subject and domestic of the king, from whom alone he held the principality of Sedan, refused to hold it upon the same conditions of protection which the late duke of Bouillon had accepted from Francis II. of whom he was neither a subject nor domestick.

I afterwards enumerated all the conciliatory methods which some of his chief friends had sent Du-Maurier to propose to him, with full assurance that his majesty would consent to them, namely, that it should be proposed to the king, that Sedan should be considered as one of the cautionary cities given to the protestants; that the duke should sell it to the king; or if not, that La-Nouë should be made governor of it, the sovereignty, and even property, remaining to the duke: but that while the king offered him more than he had reason to expect, he would listen to nothing, and, by his ill-timed obstinacy, obliged us to draw our swords against each other, and to reduce the church of Sedan to the extremity it would be shortly in: that his majesty was so greatly affected at this misfortune, that he had resolved, and even faithfully promised the deputies from the church, to make no change, or introduce any innovation in the religion of Sedan, although he should take it by storm. I concluded with earnestly intreating Parabere to do me justice in public, as to the purity of my intentions, and my grief at beholding one, who professed the same religion as myself, running so blindly upon his destruction.

Henry thought it necessary to use the same precaution with the protestant party. Bouillon having made, by La-Nouë, some proposals not fit to be received, the king published and answered them by a writing which was distributed among the duke's friends, tho' at the hazard of confirming both him and them in their belief, that his majesty was desirous of ending this affair by gentle means; and they

1606. they accordingly gave out, that the king now despaired more than ever of the success of his enterprise; to which Bouillon added (as being reported to him by La-Viéville, D'Arson, and Du-Maurier, who were deputed to him at different times) that it was I who thus rashly engaged his majesty, against his inclinations, in a war; and that I one day boasted to this prince, I would take Sedan in three months, by attacking it on the side of Fer-a-Cheval. This last report indeed was true, and made the king begin to reflect upon the pretended fidelity of those he had admitted into his councils; for when those words escaped me there were none present but the king, Don John, and Erard. Bouillon accordingly considered and treated me as one of his most dangerous enemies, who endeavoured to suppress every favourable thought which arose in the mind of his majesty for him. It was the king's part to answer this reproach, and he did it in the manner I wished; and as for those other reports, which were still more insolent, he resolved to force Bouillon soon to change his style.

His majesty left Fontainebleau the latter end of March, carrying with him the queen, who would go part of the journey*, notwithstanding the badness of the roads; and took his rout by Rheims, Rhetel, Mézieres, Doncheri, and Mouson. As I did not see his majesty again till the whole affair was concluded, I shall take the relation I give of it from the letters he wrote to me, and those which by his orders were continually sent me by Villeroi and La Varenne.

Bouillon kept up his first arrogance as long as he could: he boasted to Du-Maurier, that as soon as he sounded a trumpet he would drive the forces of France from his gates. The king, while he pur-

*The queen only made this journey, according to De Thou, the Merc. Franç. and the most authentic memoirs of that time, in order

to obtain the most advantageous conditions that were possible for the duke of Bouillon, who had engaged her in his interest.

sued

fued Bouillon with arms, was desirous also that preparations should be made for his trial, which he commanded me to push on vigorously before I set out to join him. The duke tampered so successfully with four of his majesty's gunners, that they suffered themselves to be prevailed on to desert him, making use of the horses he sent them to La-Fère in Tarténois for that purpose; a crime which well deserved an exemplary punishment. Although the dukes of Bouillon did not leave Sedan, yet he managed with such art, that those whom his majesty employed to bring him an account of every thing that was doing there, reported that she had retired to Germany, to avoid the inconveniencies she might be exposed to in a besieged city. He was heard to boast likewise, that by stamping his foot upon the ground, he would bring four thousand men into Sedan; and would have had it believed, that he had the absolute disposal of seventeen companies of horse, and some regiments of foot, which were in Luxembourg; and that he should procure a powerful supply from the Swiss Cantons. The most circumstantial advices we received were, that before the 20th of April he expected to be reinforced by five or six hundred soldiers, which he had caused to be levied in Gascony and in the neighbourhood of Liméuil, and ordered them to embark at Bourdeaux. A nephew of Rignac, and a man named Prépondié, raised them, under colour of being recruits for the war in Flanders: his majesty had received notice of this from Pucharnaut, while he was still at Paris.

These advices, upon a nearer examination, were found to have greatly exaggerated the truth: it was known that Germany did not offer to stir in the duke of Bouillon's cause; the king was well assured by Bongars, that the arch-dukes testified more fear of our armament for themselves, than inclination to declare against us; Spain thought the occasion too slight to break the peace with France; and England had not the smallest consideration for Bouillon:

1606. three or four hundred Swiss adventurers were all he could depend upon, and this number was likely to be lessened, since our levies against him were carried on in those cantons without any opposition. Montglat had not yet seen the elector Palatine, but he wrote from Strasburg, that this prince shared in Bouillon's fears, and the Landgrave sent letters to France to notify his intentions to us.

As for the duke himself, every one knew that he had not more than twelve hundred soldiers in Sedan; and we were afterwards more particularly informed, that he had, in reality, but seven or eight hundred, citizens and adventurers together, part of whom also seemed to have an inclination to leave the place before the approach of the king's army. It was reported that Bouillon himself had retired into Germany, escorted for some leagues by his garrison, and had been seen in Bascoigne by some soldiers who knew him, and to whom he spoke. Some particulars, with regard to the orders he had given in Sedan for the castle and town, gave room to believe that he did not design to return: but this news, which the governor of Ville-Franche came express to relate to the king, was found to be false; the duke of Nevers, who was better informed, wrote the king word, that the duke of Bouillon had indeed marched out of the town, at the head of three or four hundred men, but it was to meet a German prince, with whom he returned to Sedan the night after. Although the several informations given his majesty by his agents did not exactly agree in every circumstance, yet it was known from very good authority, that Bouillon was not far from his city. This German count, whom it was said he had brought into Sedan to undergo a siege there, was the third of the counts of Solme: the eldest was grand master to the elector Palatine; we have seen the second with the sieur Du-Plession: as for this, his knowledge and experience were not spoken of very advantageously.

The

The king was indisposed at Nanteuil, with a cold which did not hinder him from hunting, as soon as he began to spit: he wrote me word from this place on the 27th of March, that he had missed of his stag, but to make amends for that, he had taken two wolves, which he looked upon as a favourable augury; at Fresne he found four companies of the regiment of guards, already recruited with seven hundred men, whom he permitted to stay there, till the 1st of April, to raise all the recruits they wanted. It was easy to perceive the heart of Henry expand itself, and a martial ardour appear in his countenance, at his resuming his first glorious occupation. He went two leagues from Fresne to dine, and from thence to attend the service called the *ténébres* at Rheims. Here he continued till the Wednesday following, when he was joined by the duke of Mercœur, and all the nobility of the country. There also he saw Du-Maurier, who came from Sedan, commissioned by the duke of Bouillon to tell him, that he consented to receive a person there, in the king's name, provided that he was invested with no authority, and that his garrison should remain there, commanded by his own officer; that he was ready likewise to receive his majesty into Sedan with what train he should think proper, and all whom he chose to depute to him, but that he persisted in his resolution to be sole master of his own city; and rather than resign it, he would be contented to lose his estates, his children, and his life: but in proportion as the danger came nearer, the duke's pride abated.

The king, without returning any answer to this proposal, sent the duke of Nevers* to Mousson, to assemble what cavalry was come thither, and hinder those supposed troops of the duke of Bouillon from entering Sedan: the whole number amounted but to three hundred men, Swiss and Germans included; and there was no appearance that any more supplies

* Charles de Gonzague de Cleves, duke of Nevers.

1606. would be sent him, his majesty being then in a condition to prevent them. The king discovered great impatience to advance towards this city, but he had yet only his regiment of guards with him; the recruits of light-horse arrived in good order, but the remainder of the troops were not to join him till the fourth of April. The king did me the honour to write to me twice from Rheims, on the 24th and 26th of March, pressing me to come thither to him with my son; he proposed to set out on the 27th for Rhétel, and to be at Mouffon on the 30th, which was the day he prescribed for the rendezvous of the regiment of guards, although the roads were rendered almost impassable by the rains. His majesty wrote to me also to send him some officers and horses, with a convoy of pick-axes, shovels, and mattocks, and some pieces of cannon of a moderate size, to strengthen his lodgment.

Nevertheless very little dependance was to be had upon all these appearances, as notwithstanding the preparations for war, so many persons were labouring to conclude the affair by way of negociation; and in effect, the party that was for peace, in a short time prevailed. His majesty, however, was but ill satisfied with the last proposals which Du-Maurier had brought from Bouillon, and which, by the king's order, were communicated to the keeper of the great seal and to me. His majesty was yet more offended with the memorial, in which it seemed as if the duke wanted to treat with Henry as his equal. D'Arson, of his own accord, went to Bouillon after Du-Maurier had presented this impertinent memorial to the king; but Bouillon, after this sacrifice to his vanity, comprehended that it was at last time to change his language, which all of a sudden he softened very much; in consequence of which, he deputed Nétancour * to intreat his majesty to send

* John de Nétancour, count of Vaubecourt, counsellor of state, of the city and bishopric of Verdun, governor of Châlons in Champagne, died in 1642.

Villeroi to confer and treat with him; to which the king consented, on condition that the conference should be held at Torcy, in the dominions of France. The last act of extravagance of this man, who certainly deserved worse than what actually befel him, was to send back Aërsens, who, with Henry's leave, had been with him, and to declare by him, that he disclaimed Nétancour, and that he could do without Villeroi.

Henry must have had some powerful reasons, though unknown to me, which made him depute, as he did after all this, Villeroi and Dinteville*, in order to throw the whole blame of the miscarriage of the accommodation upon Bouillon. With them it appears that Bouillon shewed neither ill-humour, nor a disinclination to treat. Villeroi himself wrote me word what passed between them, and subjoined to his letter a long memorial, which he wrote the same evening, being the 30th of March, after he had returned to Donchery. If I was to believe Villeroi (for we shall immediately see the reasons I had to doubt his sincerity) he found Bouillon so dark and irresolute, that he could not answer for any thing till another interview, nay until Bouillon had not only concluded and signed the treaty, but also begun to execute it: now how shall we be able to reconcile this with what follows immediately after? where he says, that it seems as if the duke of Bouillon was coming to reason, but, by supposing that he could not help throwing out some dark hints of his knowledge of the treaty being much nearer a conclusion than he cared to tell me. He further acquainted me, that a second conference was to be held the next morning at Donchery, which would oblige the king to spend another day in that place.

As a proof that Villeroi did not communicate to me the whole of this affair, La-Varenne, who wrote to me at the same time, informed me, that Bouillon

* Joachim de Dinteville, governor of Champaign.

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had presented himself at the conference with the air of a man who asked quarter; for which conduct says he, he had very good reason, as, after having made his utmost efforts, after having exhausted his small territory by levies on all sides, he could raise no more than fifteen hundred raw men, none of whom had ever seen an engagement, with a few French and German foot soldiers, and only twenty-five Swiss, all the rest of his troops being in a most wretched condition, except some Flemings from Frankendal and the neighbouring country. Therefore, if in this extremity the duchess of Bouillon had not yet left Sedan, there was no reason to doubt but that her husband had resolved to accept of any conditions whatever, so that the treaty might be looked upon as in a manner concluded, it being only to save his character from the reproach of so hasty a capitulation, that the duke had demanded, as a favour, a respite till the next morning.

All was accordingly concluded in this second conference. Villeroi was, in appearance, very eager to acquaint me with the news, since he wrote to me immediately after, as he had done the day before: however he took care to conceal part of what had passed, as we shall soon see. In this second letter, however, he promised to send me the treaty itself, as soon as it was fairly transcribed and signed, which was to be done the next morning: but in the mean time he specified the principal articles; the treaty was intitled, *Articles of the protection of Sedan, and Raucourt*, and dated April the 2d, 1606, and to remain in force four years. By this treaty, the duke of Bouillon consented that the king should place a governor in the castle, with a company of fifty men; and that the inhabitants of Sedan should take the oath of fidelity to the king, which Bouillon also engaged to do himself. Villeroi filled up the rest of his letter with the praises which he said his majesty publicly bestowed on my vigilance, and the advice I had given on this occasion; yet surely this was unnecessary,

necessary, for all my endeavours and all my counsels produced nothing: therefore, I was not to be dazzled by Villeroi's flattery, nor could I alter my opinion of his proceedings. 1606.

I had no reason to doubt, that his majesty sincerely desired to give me some part in the conclusion of this affair, after the assurances I had received from him, and the letters he wrote to me for no other purpose but to press me to come, that nothing might be done without me. I do not pretend to know Villeroi's reasons for thinking so differently from his majesty in this respect; perhaps he was afraid I should deprive him of the honour of this treaty, or probably, he thought Bouillon might, by my interposition, obtain terms more advantageous, in which case, our friendship would unite us against his policy, which was to keep the most considerable protestants at variance with each other. This, however, was certain, that he pressed the conclusion of the affair so much the more eagerly, as his majesty appeared solicitous for my being present, and repeated his invitations to me to come; and to effect this purpose, did not scruple to make use of a little artifice. Henry having given him the letters before mentioned to be dispatched to me, he committed them to the care of a servant, whom he ordered to ride slowly into Amiens, Saint-Quentin, and Rheims, that I might not receive them till I had got another letter from his majesty, which he wrote to me eight days afterwards, and was brought to me by a courier sent expressly with it. My astonishment may be easily imagined, when by these last dispatches, I found that his majesty was under great uneasiness on my account, fearing that I was indisposed, since he had received no answers to letters he had wrote to me eight days before, which was the cause that every thing had been concluded without me. In this letter, which was dated Saturday, April the 1st, Henry desired me to delay no longer, but to leave my heavy baggage at Châlons, and meet him on Monday

1606. day following at Cazine, whither he went to see the queen.

Having received these two letters both in one day, I saw I had not a moment to lose, if I would meet his majesty at the place appointed. I found, by the reception he gave me, that, after a little reflexion, he would easily pardon the fault Villeroi had committed with regard to me*. This prince treated

* De Thou, in the account he gives of this expedition of Sedan, b. cxxxvi. shews but a small degree of inclination to the duke of Sully, but a great one to the duke of Bouillon. He would persuade us, that Henry IV. having been convinced, during this journey, that M. de Sully persecuted the marechal de Bouillon only from a personal enmity to him, he was glad to take the opportunity his absence afforded, to determine this affair by a treaty, because in reality his connexions with messieurs de Biron and d'Auvergne, had not extended to any thing criminal. The evidence of the Mer. Franç. of almost all the historians, and of the author of the Apology for the duke of Bouillon himself, who, on the contrary, speaks more favourably on this occasion of the duke of Sully, than of the duke of Bouillon; and the other proofs interspersed through these Memoirs, incontestably evince, according to my judgment, the invalidity of what M. De Thou here asserts, of the opinion Henry IV. formed of the duke of Bouillon's sentiments and disposition. A quite different degree of credit is due to facts established on the evidence of original letters and discourses, as the greatest part of those produced in the duke of Sully's Memoirs, and the present in particular, are, than to such as are founded only on the testimony of public report: and, if I am not mistaken, it would not be difficult to convince M. De Thou, that he is inconsistent with himself in what he says on this subject.

It may be asked, what was it

then that occasioned that precipitation in concluding the treaty, that appearance of favour which is manifest in it, that mystery which M. de Sully himself insinuates the king made of it with respect to him? I subscribe to the reasons Marfolier gives: first, that Henry IV. had no mind to ruin the duke of Bouillon, but only to make him sensible of the weight of his power, to contain him within the bounds of his duty for the future: secondly, that the duke of Bouillon seeing the instrument of his association with messieurs de Biron and d'Auvergne in the hands of M. de Villeroi, thought it high time to make his submission to the king in earnest, in order to obtain his pardon, which his haughtiness prevented him from asking, so long as he could flatter himself his machinations were concealed: thirdly, that on due reflection, Henry IV. concluded the duke of Bouillon would be able to do him less mischief at Sedan than any where else; and that for this reason he was so far from driving him from thence, that he sent him back thither in a month's time afterwards. As to M. de Villeroi, whose behaviour on this occasion, the author condemns, he certainly acted only in obedience to the king's orders, and in conformity to his intention; and he is therefore greatly commended on account of this negociation, in the 8477th volume of the royal MSS. See the historians, and especially the Merc. Franç. anno 1606. No writer has given so minute a relation of this fact, as is contained in these Memoirs.

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me with more than usual kindness and respect, supposing perhaps, that I repented his not waiting for me. "You are welcome, said he to me aloud; I have provided a supper and a bed for you; you shall have good accommodation." "Can you guess," said he afterwards in a low voice, and leaning towards me, "why I have made such haste; it was because I knew that, as soon as you arrived, you would be for viewing every thing, and throwing yourself into the most dangerous places, so that I was apprehensive of some accident happening to you; and I would rather Sedan was never taken, than hazard such a misfortune, for I have need of you for affairs of much more consequence."

After this, any reflexions I should make upon this agreement, and the whole conduct of the affair, might possibly not be free from partiality; all I shall say therefore, is, that the duke of Bouillon had reason to think himself very happy that he got off at so easy a rate, after having obliged his majesty to set an army on foot, and bring a train of artillery of fifty pieces of cannon, within fifteen or twenty paces of Sedan, while he himself advanced almost to its very walls. All this Henry acknowledged, and sometimes he was greatly enraged at the duke's conduct; but his natural clemency prevailed. He made his entry into Sedan on the 2d of April, and left there fifty men, with Nétancourt at their head. Bouillon came afterwards to pay homage to his majesty, who sent for me to be present at this ceremony, which was performed in the king's chamber so early in the morning, that the duke found his majesty still in bed*.

I visited the town the next day, where, instead of those powerful supplies which were to come from all parts of christendom to the duke's assistance,

* Henry IV. obligingly answered him, that it was not so much his city of Sedan which tempted him, as the good services he expected from him personally. MSS. *ibid.*

1606, three hundred miserable Lansquenets, and twenty-five Swiss, were all the foreign troops I saw there; all the rest were in proportion, the cannon in very bad order, with four or five unskilful gunners to attend them, no place likewise fit to receive them, no fascines, gabions, pick-axes, or planks; in a word, none of the usual preparations for a siege. It was not possible for me to restrain myself from expressing my astonishment to the duke of Bouillon, who was present at the survey, and who, not being pleased either with my observations, or the freedom of them, began a debate, which he supported with more heat than was necessary. But however ingenious his vanity might be, the inequality of the two parties were so palpable, that he passed among our neighbours, to have prevented his total ruin by an implicit submission. Cardinal Du-Perron, sent me a letter of congratulation from Rome, in which he says, quoting an ancient author, wars ought to be carried on with vigour and rapidity, for by that means we save both time and expence; those conquests which are made by the terror of arms, are more expeditious and extend farther, than those which are gained by arms themselves. The Pope spoke publicly of this expedition in very advantageous terms; and I was convinced, that, in all other countries, people thought of it in the same manner as they did at Rome. This gave some consolation, that the reputation of our arms did not suffer.

I proposed likewise to indemnify ourselves in some measure for the expences of this armament, by reducing to his majesty's subjection the fortrefs of the earldom of Saint-Paul. And here it is necessary to remember what I have already said concerning the acquisition of this earldom in 1604, that when Gouillauire came from the count of Soissons to propose this bargain to the king, his majesty intrusted the management of this affair, in my absence, to messieurs Belleviere, Villeroi, Sillery, and Maisse; and

and that upon the difficulties which I represented to this prince would arise in the affair, he caused a contract to be drawn up, in the name of a third person, until the king, by making himself master of those forts, they should be declared his by right of conquest. 1606.

When Henry proposed to me to pay the troops and disband them; "How! sire, replied I, disband them; what then will become of your contract for the earldom of Saint-Paul? Have you forgot the resolution you made when it was past? Since you have been at the expence of raising an army, what now remains but to employ it that way?" I represented to his majesty, that it would be the work of fifteen days only. The Spaniards had not the least expectation of such an attempt, and when it did happen, could have no just cause to complain, since the king only made use of that power granted by treaties to the earls of Saint-Paul, to chuse between France and Spain, which should be declared to the council of Madrid at the same time that we set forward. "I am convinced," said Henry, after having heard me attentively; "that you are in the right, but it requires some deliberation before we engage in this affair; and I should chuse to mention it to the principal persons here with me, and to my ordinary council." I know not with whom his majesty consulted, or what advice was given him, but two days afterwards this prince took me aside, and endeavoured to persuade me, that at present it was best to let this affair sleep. I confess, when I quitted the king, I could not help saying, "*Ab! de-par-Dieu!*—I find we are going to put our swords in the scabbards: with so fine an army, and so favourable an opportunity of employing it, we are preparing to disband our men." I was not able to alter the king's resolution; the troops were paid and disbanded, and I sent back the artillery to Paris,

1606.

The king having a desire to enter this city with a discharge of all the ordnance, La-Varenne, by his order, came to acquaint me with it. "What does the king mean, monsieur La-Varenne," cried I, surprised at the proposal, "we have not drawn our swords, nor fired one single volley of cannon, and shall we play the victors? we who in two respects are the vanquished, for we have bought with too great credulity, what the king ought only to hold by his own courage, and afterwards have been afraid to publish our own acquisition. I was always apprehensive that things would be managed thus; tell the king that all the world thinks as I do on this occasion, and would laugh at us if we fired the cannon." I probably carried my freedom a little too far, but the grief I felt at what had happened was the cause of it. The king could not hear this answer without great emotion; he concealed it from no one but myself. Praslin, and afterwards Béthune, came back immediately, to tell me from him, with great gentleness, that there was nothing unreasonable in what his majesty required of me. And I, in my turn, thought I was able to convince them of the contrary. Henry began now to be extremely enraged with me, gave my resistance very harsh names, and sent me an absolute command to obey him; which I did with such expedition, and with so great a noise of the artillery, that he was appeased immediately, and sent for me to come and embrace him*. Bouillon was in the king's train when he

* The Journal of Henry IV. makes no mention of this dispute, but, on the contrary, says, that M. de Rosny was at the king's side, conversing with him, and shewing him some beautiful ladies: that the marechal de Bouillon was very plainly dressed and mounted, and his look very sorrowful. A letter wrote by the king to the prince of Orange on the surren-

der of Sedan, is set forth in this Journal in these words: "Cousin, I may say as Cæsar did, *Veni, vidi, vici*: or as the song does: *Three days my love will last, and in three days 'tis past*: so much was I in love with Sedan. You are now able to judge whether I was in the right or not; and whether I did not know the condition of that place better

made

made his entry; he would certainly have injured his majesty greatly to have feared from him any appearance of contempt. The king resumed his former familiarity with him; and if there was any change in his behaviour, it was only to greater kindness and respect. 1606.

About this time broke out the famous quarrel between pope Paul V. and the Venetians; the foundation of it had been laid long before, on occasion of some pretended ecclesiastical rights which the holy father, at a very unseasonable time, undertook to maintain against this republic; who, on their side, opposed them by very firm decrees*. Fresné-Canage, our ambassador at Venice, had given me notice of it in the month of October. These decrees, joined to the imprisonment of the two ecclesiastics by an arret of the senate, the interdict fulminated by the Pope upon their refusal to revoke those decrees, and to do him justice with regard to their imprisonment; and lastly, the protestation lately made by the re-

" than those who wanted to make me believe I should not be able to take it in less than three years," &c. M. De Thou is also mistaken, when he says, *ibid.* that the duke of Bouillon did not arrive till three days after. See the *Mer. Franç.* where a description of his majesty's entry into Paris is given.

* By one of the decrees, of the 10th of January, 1603, it is forbidden to build any church without leave from the government; and by a second, of the 26th March, 1605, ecclesiastics, and persons holding in mortmain, are restrained from making any acquisition without special authority. I shall not enter into a discussion of these points of law, there being an infinity of treatises wrote at that time on each side of the question; the chief are those which came from the pen of cardinal Baronius, in favour of the Pope; and of friar Paul Sarpi, a monk of the

order of the Servites, on behalf of the Venetians. All these may be seen in M. De Thou, the *Mer. Franç. Matthieu*, an. 1606. and other historians: and in particular in the writings upon this famous dispute. The Jesuits, the capuchins, and a small number of other monks, were all that paid any obedience to the interdiction, and thereby got themselves drove out of the Venetian territories: the excommunication was treated with contempt by all the other orders in the republic, and divine service continued to be performed as before. It is reported, that the vicar general to the bishop of Padua, saying to the governor, that he would act on this occasion as the Holy Ghost should inspire him; the governor made answer, That the Holy Ghost had already inspired the council of ten, to order all those to be banged who should refuse to obey the order of the senate.

public

1606. public against this excommunication, had brought matters to extremity on both sides.

To speak candidly my sentiments of the affair, I thought the proceedings of both parties much the same, equally violent and imprudent. I have ever had a real respect for Paul V. and have professed to honour him greatly; nor do I think what I am going to say has any thing in it contrary to these sentiments. We live not now in those times when the popes exercised that spiritual authority from which they thought, and with reason, their greatest advantages were derived, and exercised it in such a manner, as gave them, in reality, a sovereign power over the princes and states in Christendom. At present, their usurpation of temporal authority is clearly known and distinguished, and is strongly contested with them. I may almost venture to say, that they are disabled with regard to their spiritual power; at least it is certain, that the protestants deprived them of two thirds of it at once; an example so recent, and so easy to imitate, that it was certainly very injudicious in the Roman court, to expose the republic of Venice to such a temptation, surrounded as it is by provinces who have shook off the yoke of the apostolical see, and who would receive them with open arms as soon as they had done the like: these I speak of were the Lutherans, the protestants of Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia, Hungary, Austria, and Transilvania; to whom may be added, the schismatic Greeks and Turks. Rome should reflect upon the ravage made in her empire, by three or four monks only; and that this misfortune happened through the ill-timed pride of Leo X. and Clement VII. too like what Paul V. discovered in the present conjuncture.

The Venetians, it is probable, run greater risks than the Pope, by making him their enemy. All these discussions, which at first the contending parties pretended to regulate and guide by the judgment or award of conscience, terminate, sooner or later,

in being supported by arms; when, as it always happens, arguments, far from being relished, give rise to proceedings more and more violent. And there was nothing which this republic ought so carefully to avoid as war, since she may be convinced, that if the Emperor and the king of Spain do not prosecute their claims upon her dominions, which they scarce ever conceal, it is certainly because they have not pretences in readiness, or want opportunities. It is the part of the Venetian policy, therefore, to aim continually at maintaining the republic and all Italy in the state they are at present: for them no change can be advantageous, and any revolution fatal. I have often examined this matter in my conversations with the cardinals de Joyeuse and Du-Perron, and laboured with more candor than is generally shewn by a zealous Huguenot, to find out means to prevent the new religion from getting a footing either in Italy or Spain, provided that they, on their side, would promise, that the Pope, who was the head of Italy, should spare himself the trouble of taking any interest in that part of Europe with which he had no connexion; for it has been always my opinion, that the true system of politics, that which may give and preserve tranquillity to Europe, depends upon fixing her in this equilibrium.

Could they have thought in this manner at Rome and at Venice, every one there would have conspired to stifle the present quarrel in its birth; and for this a seasonable and mild discussion had been sufficient: those affairs, in appearance the most intricate and perplexed, are still capable of being happily tempered by proper management, and this more than many others: we ought to consider them without any regard to the consequences, with which it is wrong to alarm one's self, for we should never be alarmed with what is merely possible; but they had designedly increased the difficulties, by proposing things which always rendered the prudence of the ablest mediators ineffectual. The malicious insinuations

1606. ations of those persons who fought to take advantage of this disjunction, had also some share in heightening it. If there is a person in the world who, amidst the emotions of anger, is capable of listening to the voice of reason, I should advise him then to distrust the discourse of those persons who, when thus agitated, offer to assist his vengeance: it is on such an occasion, that hatred and envy lay their most dangerous snares.

Canaye*, when he consulted me upon what, as ambassador from France, it was fit for him to do, in the present posture of affairs, thought it necessary, for my better information, to send me a long memorial of the grievances complained of, and arguments used by both parties. I made no great use of this paper; for to examine their reasons, and pronounce upon each, would not have been serving them effectually: I therefore told Canaye plainly in my answer, that, without having any regard to the foundation of the quarrel, the Venetians had no other part to take but to refer themselves to arbitrators, who might perform the office of a common friend to both, by pacifying their resentment, not judging with rigor. I named the king of France, as being, in my opinion, the only one who was likely to produce this effect; and recommended to them to make use of the nuncio Barberine, whose wisdom and integrity I was well assured of, to make a report of all to his majesty. They followed my advice, but not immediately; passion had asserted its usual dominion before. However, during the rest of the year, it was confined to writings, wherein invective was carried to great excess; but happily, the contending parties were the two powers in Europe who were slowest in declaring war, which was what each relied on. We shall see in the following year the event of this quarrel.

* Philip Canaye, lord of Fresny.

It was of some use to the nuncio Barberini to obtain for him a cardinal's hat, which the pope sent him upon making a promotion of cardinals, out of the usual order of time. His majesty, to whom he was chiefly obliged for this dignity, congratulated him upon it. Barberini often declared, that he had a good friend about the king in me; cardinal Du-Perron thought likewise, that my interest had been of some use to him, with regard to the archbishopric of Sens, and the post of great almoner; both which were bestowed upon him by his majesty: he made his acknowledgments to me for this service, and intreated me to procure him, during his absence, the enjoyment of all the privileges of his office.

The citizens of Metz received a service of still greater importance from me, on occasion of the dispute they had about that time with the Jesuits, these fathers had two years before made an attempt to procure a settlement in Metz, the inhabitants of which avoided the blow by an application to his majesty, which I supported. The Jesuits returning to the charge, I again encouraged the people, sending them an account by Saint-Germain and Des-Bordes, and afterwards by La-Nouë, of the king's opinion of the matter. But at the beginning of this year their fears were again awakened, by the Jesuits raising new batteries stronger than before, obliging the clergy, and all the catholic burghers, to unite with them; they had likewise secured the duke of Epernon's vote, who was governor of Metz, and arrived there on the 15th of April, to put the last hand to the work; at least this was what the people apprehended, and that the governor acted in this affair only by the king's orders. Alarmed at his arrival, they sent me a letter the next day, which was followed by another, dated April 25, and delivered to me by the sieur Braconnier, who was strictly charged to urge all the reasons that had induced me to undertake their defence, which they were afraid I should forget: they likewise deputed

1606. two of their countrymen, one after the other, to court, to attend this affair; not, said those protestants, that they were apprehensive the Jesuits would turn them from their faith, but because they were persuaded the society, by its intrigues, would cause some revolution at Metz; the consequences of which, in a city so lately re-united to the crown, might be fatal.

It was by this motive, that I endeavoured to gain over his majesty, who likewise knew the importance of this city to his great designs. I filled the inhabitants with joy when I sent them word by their last deputy, that the king had granted their request, and would suffer no innovation to be made in their city; which I assured them of in the king's name. They made me greater acknowledgments in a third letter, dated the 10th of July; but I could perceive they were not quite freed from their fears, their adversaries boasting, they said, that it was in their power to alter the king's determination.

In effect, the Jesuits received every day such striking proofs of the king's favour and protection, as might well authorise the fears of the people of Metz: this very year Henry made them a present of one hundred thousand crowns for their college of La-Flèche alone, and condescended to regulate the disposal of it himself, in the following manner: one hundred and sixty thousand livres for building the college, twenty-one thousand for the purchase of the ground, seventy-five thousand in lieu of church lands, which were seized upon, in order to erect a perpetual revenue for this house; for as these lands were possessed by persons who were not ecclesiastics, it was allowable to compel them to sell, (and that step was here actually taken) a pecuniary equivalent being granted them; twelve thousand for a dwelling house for the fathers, three thousand to purchase books for them, as much for the decorations of their church, six thousand for their subsistence for the present year (for Henry forgot no-

nothing) and fifteen thousand, which had been lent them by Varenne after they came to La-Flèche, which this prince kept an account of. The paper was dated October 16, and signed by the king. 1606.

But here follows another, much more extraordinary. A counsellor of parliament, named Gillot*, had in the year 1603 lent a book to father Cotton, which he could not get again, though he had several times asked the father for it; at length he sent a servant to demand it, with orders not to leave him till it was returned: the counsellor getting his book by these means, happened, in opening it, to find a sheet of paper between the leaves, which had apparently been forgot by the Jesuit, and was written all over, as he supposed, with his own hand: this paper seemed to him to be worth my notice; he brought it to me, and after obliging me to promise that I would not name him in the affair, he left the paper in my hands, to make what use of it I thought proper. After convincing myself that it was the hand-writing of father Cotton, which it was easy to do, with the assistance of some letters he knew I had received from him, we accordingly compared them, and found them exactly the same: the following is a translation of it, for it was in Latin, and contained a long list of questions which the Jesuit designed to ask the devil, when he exorcised a certain person who was possessed, and who made much noise at that time†: the reader will find questions of every kind

* James Gillot, counsellor-clerk in the great chamber of the parliament of Paris.

† Her name was Adriana de Fresne, she was born in the village of Gerbigny, near Amiens; afterwards she settled at Paris, in Saint Anthony's-street: she drew to the convent of Saint Victor, where she was exorcised, almost as great a concourse of people, as Martha Broffier had done to Saint Genevieve. De Thou, who did not suffer this piece of history to pass unnoticed, speaking of father Cotton as

one of her principal exorcists, according to his custom, treats that father's curiosity on this occasion with great severity: he further observes, that Henry IV. earnestly desired the duke of Sully to prevent this writing from becoming public; and that the contrary, either through imprudence, or by some other means, having happened, he pretended to treat the thing as a matter of no moment before his court; though inwardly he was much displeased with father Cotton. De Thou, book cxxiii.

1606. in it, those merely of curiosity, some trifling, and even ridiculous, and others upon subjects which it is not fit for me to examine into: the writing begins thus.

“ By the merits of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, apostles; of Saint Prisca, the virgin martyr; of Saint Moses and Ammon, martyred soldiers; of Saint Antegenus, martyr and theologian; of Saint Volusien, bishop of Tours; of Saint Leobard the monk, and of Saint Liberata the Virgin.”

After this follow the questions which the exorcist designs to ask the demon; they are without method or connexion, the author having, no doubt, just thrown them on paper as they occurred to his mind; and some are expressed in such a manner, as makes it impossible to guess what he would be at.

“ All that God permits me to know (observe that it is father Cotton that speaks) with regard to the king and queen; with regard to those who live at court; with regard to public and private admonitions; with regard to the news of life, and the right way; with regard to those who converse with princes; with regard to Laval, divine service, the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues, vows, the ceremonies of consecration, and cases of conscience, the conversion of souls, and canonization; and if it may be permitted me to insist farther, with regard to the war against the Spaniards and heretics, the voyage to New France, and all the coasts opposite to America; and with regard to the means I ought to use, in order to persuade men with efficacy, so as to induce them to relinquish their sins. To know from the devil what danger it may be in my power to prevent, and that he would inform me what If the person possessed hath been baptized; if she be a religious; if any foul play hath been meditated, by the malice of Clarençal, against Mary de Valence*, or against the soul of La-Faye. To ask the demon when Clarençal

* One of father Cotton's devotees.

“ will

“ will go from home, the time, and the means, and
 “ if it will be at night; if I have any concealed
 “ danger to apprehend; if languages are inspired
 “ from God; by what means Chamieres-Ferrier . . .
 “ by what means, or by reading what books, we
 “ may render sermons most useful; what is my
 “ greatest danger; what restitution his majesty is
 “ obliged to; what he (the demon) would have
 “ me to say to dame Acharia*, Du-Jardin, and
 “ the brothers and sisters; what was the apparition
 “ that was seen in Languedoc; if it be convenient
 “ that mother Pasithea † should come, and sister
 “ Anne de Saint Bartholomew go to Pont a-Mouf-
 “ son; and if he would inform me what I ought to
 “ know, with regard to the king and M. de Rosny;
 “ what hopes may be formed of his conversion;
 “ what protestants at court are most easily convert-
 “ ed; if no danger may befall him who is protected
 “ by demons; if I am not threatened on that occa-
 “ sion myself; what hinders the foundation of the
 “ college at Poitiers; what are the duties of a niece;
 “ what passage of scripture is most clear and most
 “ efficacious to prove purgatory, the invocation of
 “ saints, and the power of the Pope; where the
 “ animals drank in Noah’s ark; what sons of God
 “ loved the daughters of men; if the serpent walked
 “ on feet before Adam’s fall; how often our fathers
 “ had been in heaven in the terrestrial paradise;
 “ what sort of spirits stand before the throne of God;
 “ if there is a king of the arch-angels; what ought
 “ to be done to establish a solid peace with Spain;
 “ if God will be pleased to inform me when the he-
 “ resy of Calvin will be extinct; of my father and
 “ his condition; of my brothers John and Anthony;
 “ how many passages of faith have been corrupted
 “ by heretics; of the Geneva plagiarist; of the
 “ voyage of the father general in Spain; of the
 “ brief, and father general, with regard to Baque.

* Another devotee of father Cotton’s. mentioned again in these Memoirs.

† A nun, who will be

1606. " ville, and the young man who lives near Notre-
 " Dame; when animals first migrated into the
 " islands; and when the islands were first inhabited
 " by men; where is the terrestrial paradise; how
 " the king and queen of England, and all the Eng-
 " lish nation, may be most easily converted; how to
 " conquer the Turk, and make converts of infidels;
 " what part of the angels fell; what adoration the
 " cherubims pay to the supreme Being, and what
 " are his ideas of it; how I may correct my errors
 " of writing, printing, and preaching; what em-
 " barrasses the demon and his companions in the
 " ceremony of exorcising; what hath so often oc-
 " casioned the preservation of Geneva; what he
 " knows touching the king's health; what may
 " unite the grandees of the realm with him; how
 " one may assist the sieur de Verdun, and what his
 " motives of action are; on the hostage towns; on
 " Lefdiguieres and his conversion; on the honour
 " of my relics; on the letters written to madam de
 " Clarençal; to be more than commonly particular
 " with regard to that lady; what obstructs the col-
 " lege of Amiens and Tours; of the duration of
 " heresy."

The king, when he returned from Sedan, staid a few days at Paris, and towards the end of April went to Fontainebleau, from whence he wrote to me, that, by his physicians prescriptions, he was beginning a strict regimen, that was to continue for ten days at least; upon which account, he deferred for so long the ceremony of the feast of Whitsontide, and sent orders to his council not to attend him for fifteen days. He permitted me to pass this interval at Sully, provided I sometimes came to visit him. By this remedy, together with perspiration, his health was greatly mended,

The affairs of greatest importance, in which his majesty was employed at Fontainebleau, were those which related to religion. The clergy of France assembling at Paris, renewed their solicitations for
 the

the publication of the council of Trent*; the public peace being concerned in this proposal, as well as in some others of the same nature, which it was resolved in the assembly should be made to the king. His majesty opposed them both with his arguments and authority, and treated the protestants in the same manner, who, in imitation of the clergy, seemed disposed to abuse their privileges. Some provinces wrote to the deputies-general at court, to solicit the grant of a petition they sent the king for holding a national synod, while at the same time in other provinces, they laboured to procure particular assemblies to be held, wherein it was the custom to appoint the deputies of the synod, and to draw up instructions upon the affairs which were to be treated there. Henry had sent me orders by Ville-roi on the 22d of March, to take proper measures on this occasion in conjunction with my son, to whom he allowed me to give a share of almost every part of my business, and that I should afterwards confer with Servian the deputy from Dauphiné. He wrote to me himself from Fontainebleau, desiring that I would send for the deputies-general, and oblige them to declare what were the intentions of the protestant body, and to render their project ineffectual. I made him entirely easy on this head, by assuring him that, if I could not hinder the synod from be-

* In the Merc. François, anno 1606, may be seen the remon-
strance which the clergy got Je-
rome de Villars, archbishop of Vi-
enne, to make to his majesty, with
this answer to it by Henry IV.
“ You have mentioned a council
“ to me, I desire one may be cal-
“ led; but, as you rightly observe,
“ the considerations of this world
“ frequently clash with those of
“ heaven: nevertheless, I shall al-
“ ways be ready to support the
“ good of the church, and the ser-
“ vice of God, with the hazard of
“ my blood and life. As to sumo-

ny, and the holding benefices in
“ trust for others, let those who
“ are guilty, by their own refor-
“ mation, set others an example to
“ do the like. In the elections
“ you see my manner of proceed-
“ ing; I am proud of the footing
“ on which I have placed them,
“ which is greatly different from
“ what it was,” &c. The king,
notwithstanding, in consequence of
their complaints, issued two edicts,
prescribing many ecclesiastical re-
gulations, which were confirmed,
the one in 1608, the other in 1609.
See also M. De Thou, book cxxxiv.

1606. ing convoked*, I would at least contrive to have so many faithful servants of his there, as should render them master of all the debates. It appeared necessary likewise to use this precaution in the particular assembly of Dauphiné; and to satisfy the president Parquet that he might not suffer his office, which he was desirous of resigning, to be filled by any of the factious party, I sent Bullion into Dauphiné, and Esperian into Guienne, with proper instructions how to act.

Des-Ageaux dying this year, his post of king's lieutenant of Saint-John-d'Angely, was immediately solicited for by several persons, and among others by Beaulieu and La-Roche-beaucourt; the former had had a brevet for it before Des-Ageaux, but the duke of Epernon, Parabere, and all the burghers of Saint-John, uniting in favour of La-Roche-beaucourt, his majesty ordered me to send for him, and to give him all the necessary instructions for the faithful execution of this office, which he had determined to entrust to him. I took care not to speak for the duke of Rohan, Soubise† and he at that time not standing well in his majesty's opinion, on account of some steps taken by them, which others perhaps would tax only with imprudence, but I, who on such occasions am not accustomed to manage my terms, shall not scruple to call disobedient. Rohan applied to me to re-instate him in his majesty's favour, as soon as he should have returned to Paris, towards the close of the year. The king, to whom I wrote, had the goodness to give me hopes that he would pardon the duke, and even furnished me with the means of improving this pardon, by bringing

* In the royal MSS. see the original of a letter from M. de Sully, dated the 20th of May 1606, directed to the protestants of the province of Burgundy, by which he endeavours to dissuade them from this notion of holding a synod at Rochelle.


† Benjamin de Rohan-Soubise,

brother of the duke of Rohan, both of them sons of René duke of Rohan, and grandsons of John de Parthenay-Soubise. The duke or Soubise was one of the principal leaders of the calvinistical party in France, during the religious wars in the following reign.

the criminal to him after having first instructed him by my son, either at his own or some other house, in all that he was to do to render his sovereign favourable to him, provided that Rohan did not put off till then a public acknowledgment of his fault, and sorrow for having committed it. As to the manner in which he should treat him, and how he should for the future expect him to act with the protestants, he deferred explaining himself till he came to Paris. With regard to Soubise, as he had demanded the king's permission before he went to Flanders, his majesty consented that he should wait for him at Paris, or come to him at Fontainebleau.

At La-Rochelle new quarrels arose between the protestants, and the Roman catholic clergy of that city, upon the extent and exercise of those privileges, which the latter were to enjoy there. Both parties made reciprocal complaints of each other; the ecclesiastics, that their adversaries often attempted to do themselves justice by force of arms, which was always forbidden; the protestants, that the clergy constantly suppressed the arrets of council, to authorise their encroachments; and both desired a decisive arret. The king, conceiving that an arret would increase their animosity, insisted upon my undertaking the office of mediator upon this occasion. I began by shewing them separately, what were their real interests; and, after I had assured myself of their obedience, dictated to them the following articles of accommodation, which will explain the causes of their disputes.

That the protestants should not prohibit the ecclesiastics from visiting the hospitals and prisons, or from hearing confessions, provided all this was done without any pomp, especially that of carrying the sacrament to those places: that the clergy had no right to assist at burials and public ceremonies, to carry the cross there, or attend criminals to the place of punishment: that the ecclesiastics should receive no bad treatment either in word or deed, when they passed

1606.  passed through the streets in the habit of their order : that the protestants should not make any opposition to the building of their church there ; nor to the commissioners appointed by them to mark out the place, provided this place was neither inconvenient, nor suspected by the city ; in either of which cases they should assign them another, or leave this point to be decided by the king and his council. I regulated likewise some other articles relating to the police : that the catholics should be contented with the share they had in the public posts and offices to which they should be raised by a plurality of votes, and the usual methods ; but, with respect to mechanic trades and corporations, as there was no reason why they should be excluded from them, the protestants, by driving away their youth from the shops of the catholics, had set an example of violence to those cities where the catholic party was the strongest.

In the mean time, at Paris, great preparations were making for the ceremony of the baptism of the Dauphin, and the two princesses of France. The duchess of Mantua*, who was to have the principal part in this solemnity, set out from Italy with a train of two hundred horse, and two hundred and fifty attendants. She arrived at Nancy on the beginning of June, and from thence her train and those belonging to the duke of Lorraine, sent to know of his majesty if, at the end of eight days, which she proposed to stay at Nancy, she might continue her journey. This requiring some consideration, Henry wrote to me, for I was then at Sully, to come to Paris on the fourth or fifth of June ; adding, that he would come thither himself the latter end of May, and till I arrived make some short excursions to Saint-Germain to see his children, and likewise that he thought it necessary to send some person to Nancy with his orders. A kind of debate arose upon the

* Eleonora de Medicis, eldest daughter of Francis de Medicis, grand duke of Tuscany, and wife of Vincent de Gonzague duke of Mantua.

manner

manner in which the duchess of Mantua should be received, which was at length decided in the queen's favour, who alleged, that this princess coming into France only to oblige the king, and do honour to an extraordinary ceremony, too great respect could not be paid her. Accordingly nothing was omitted; she had the precedence not only of all foreign princes, but also of the princes of the blood, at which the latter were so disgusted, that they refused to assist at any ceremony where she was present, alleging, that it was a very extraordinary thing for princes of the most august house in Europe, to be preceded by a duke of late date, descended from a citizen of Mantua, who, after killing Bonnacolsy his lord, procured the administration of Mantua to be confided to him, and afterwards usurped the sovereignty of it. But notwithstanding all that could be urged, the king would not make the smallest concession on this point, considering only in the duchess of Mantua, the title of an ally to the royal family, and eldest sister of the queen.

The duke of Bouillon sought to take some advantage of this example, but he was not regarded; he had been appointed to carry the regalia in the ceremony, and would have taken place of the dukes, claiming this privilege as duke of Bouillon and prince of Sedan, and appealing to the examples of some of the princes of Sedan to whom he had succeeded. He was told, in answer to these pretensions, that the difference between them and him was, that they were really descended from sovereign princes, a quality which in effect gave them the first rank, while he was only descended from a private gentleman.

On the 20th of July, the duchess of Mantua arrived at Villers-Coterets, where she found the king, who waited for her. From thence they were to go by Monceaux to Paris, where I was employed in causing scaffolds to be built in the church of Notre-Dame, in the palace, and in the square of the manufactures,

1606. manufactures, and in making all the other preparations, when we were informed that a contagious disease had broke out in that vast city*; for which reason the king, after consulting the duchess, resolved that the ceremony of the baptisms should be performed at Fontainebleau. The tournaments and all the shews and diversions, which were to have been exhibited at Paris, were set aside by this new plan, which took in only the usual expences for the baptism of the children of France, and the robes of his majesty and the royal family. The nuncio waited upon the king at Fontainebleau, as did also queen Margaret. The chapels of the castle being too small for such a ceremony, and that of the monastery unfinished, I proposed that the floor of the latter should be spread and the walls hung with tapestry, or that they should make use of the great saloon † for that purpose.

The king himself took the trouble to examine the palace of Fleury, and caused it to be prepared for the reception of the dauphin when the ceremony was ended; for the contagion in Paris, instead of ceasing, had spread itself into some of the neighbouring places; nor was Fontainebleau entirely free from it. Henry ‡ wrote me word, the latter end of September, that of six persons who had been seized

* "The plague, or rather the king's thriftiness, says L'Etoile maliciously, deprived the city of Paris of this honour:" an assertion without any foundation, and contradicted by all other historians.

† It was performed in the court called Cour du Donjon, which had been prepared for the purpose. The cardinal de Joyeuse, the Pope's legate, represented Paul V. as god-father, with the duchess of Mantua as god-mother to the dauphin. The eldest Madame of France was called Elisabeth, after the name of the archduchess her god-mother, wife of the archduke Albert, and granddaughter of Henry II. represented by madam d'Angoulême without a god-father; and the youngest Ma-

dame of France had for god-father the duke of Lorraine in person, and for god-mother the grand duchess of Tuscany, whose proxy was prince John de Medicis; she was called Christina. See in the Merc. Fran. anno 1606, and in P. Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. the description of the manner of performing this ceremony, and the magnificence and rejoicings which preceded and followed it. See also vol. 9361 and 9364 of the Royal MSS.

‡ It is observed, in the journal of Henry IV. that no more than usual died in Paris this year, which are therein computed at eight in a day; whence the author concludes, that people gave way to a groundless panic.

with

with the distemper only one had recovered, but that there were no more taken ill. He withdrew the regiment of guards from Melun, where he had been told some families were infected with the distemper. It was about this time, that their majesties, crossing the river of Neuilly in a ferry-boat *, were in danger of being drowned, which was the cause that a bridge was afterwards built there.

I staid longer this time at Sully than usual. The king, who was informed that I continued indisposed at Briecomte-robert, wrote to me on the 29th of August, and desired to know the state of my health. This prince made me captain-lieutenant of the company of gendarmes, which was formed in the queen's name, and at my entreaty granted a full pardon to La-Saminiere. These favours alone gave him a

* " On Friday the 9th of June, " says the same journal, as the " king and queen were crossing the " water in the ferry-boat at Neu- " illy, on their return from Saint- " Germain-en-Laye, the duke of " Vendôme being with them, they " were all three in great danger of " being drowned, especially the " queen, who was obliged to drink " a great deal more than was a- " greeable to her; and had not " one of her footmen and a gentle- " man called La-Châtaigneraie, " who caught hold of her hair, " desperately thrown themselves " into the water to pull her out, " she would inevitably have lost " her life. This accident cured " the king of a violent tooth-ach; " and, after having escaped the " danger, he diverted himself with " it, saying, he had never met with " so good a remedy for that dis- " order before, and that they had " eat too much salt meat at dinner, " therefore they had a mind to " make them drink after it."

This accident happened accord- ing to the Merc. Fran. because as they were going into the boat, which probably had no rail-work

round it, the two fore-horses, draw- ing towards one side fell overboard, and by their weight dragged the coach, in which were the king, the queen, the duke of Vendôme, the princess of Conti, and the duke of Montpensier, whom the rain had prevented from alighting with them. " The gentlemen who " were on horseback, says that " historian, threw themselves into " the water, without having time " to take off either their cloaths " or swords, and hastened to- " wards the place where they " had seen the king, who, being " saved from the danger, not- " withstanding all the entreaty " that could be made to the con- " trary, returned into the water " to assist in getting out the queen " and the duke of Vendôme. As " soon as the queen had recovered " a little breath, she gave a sigh, " and asked where the king was. " She testified her gratitude to " La-Châtaigneraie, whom she " had observed to be particularly " instrumental in saving her, by a " present of jewels, and a yearly " pension." Anno 1606, De Thou, b. cxxxvi.

right

1606. right to require and expect every thing from me: he was much afflicted to find, that the marriage of the son of Noailles with the daughter of Roquelaure, instead of uniting those two families, proved only a source of discord between them. Henry so often and so earnestly pressed me to attempt to reconcile them, that I used my utmost endeavours for that purpose. It is the part of a good prince, to keep all who are about his person united; and of a wise one, to effect this union rather by the interposition of others than by his own.

I was likewise well rewarded for my labours in the finances; the contractors giving his majesty an hundred and fifty thousand livres, and the continuance of the lease of the salt for six years produced him likewise a gratuity of sixty thousand crowns. The king disposed of these two hundred and ten thousand livres in the following manner: eighty thousand livres were set apart for the purchase of Moret, and thirty-six thousand for some occasions of his majesty; the queen had twelve thousand, the duke of Nemours thirty, Versenai eighteen, and myself thirty thousand. I likewise received, during the course of the year, twice this sum in different gratuities.

To execute the edicts, the court of aids sent every year a deputation of counsellors into those districts where the excise was levied upon salt, in order to make a distribution and regulation thereon; to lay fines upon those whom they found exercising the trade of selling salt without license. Nor was this the only reason for sending those commissioners; for the lieutenant-general of Blois sent me word, that two of the commissioners that were appointed to levy the excise upon salt and the other taxes for the different officers of the district, were guilty of many crimes in the discharge of their employment. To which I answered, that he was in the wrong to make a complaint without specifying any particulars; but that, however, I had sent him a regulation with regard to those two points, in order for him to shew
to

to the commissioners, which if they disobeyed, I promised to give him ample satisfaction.

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The import of the regulation was, that the excise upon salt should not for the future be augmented merely upon the districts, but that the particular parishes should be specified in proportion to the number of chimnies, at the same time easing the poorer parishes of an equal sum. With regard to the contraband traders in salt, it was my opinion, that there was a distinction to be made between them; for as those who sold the contraband salt could not be punished too severely, so those who only purchased it from the unlicensed traders, merely because they got it cheaper than the other salt, deserved to be treated with more lenity, especially when they were not taken in the fact.

As to the tax upon the officers of the finances, there are two kinds of it, one upon all the officers in general, into which the king had thought proper to consent that enquiries should be commenced against them; and the other upon the elects in particular, founded upon the re-establishment of their rights, taxations, and exemptions, of several kinds. It was established by the regulation, that the first of these taxes should not be exacted for the future but by mutual consent; so that they who should declare before the officer that gave them notice of it, and afterwards before the judge or notary of the place, that they did not intend to take advantage of the king's abolition, should not be compelled to pay it; but in that case they were subject to a criminal prosecution, if they were discovered to have failed in the execution of their trust. The second tax was the same; those elects who liked better to give up the privilege of their office, were discharged from it; but they were obliged to repay whatever they might have received under that title, contrary to the edicts and establishments of the king and the states.

The

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The commissioners sent to Rouen gave it as their opinion, that it was but reasonable to strike eleven thousand crowns off the account of the taxes of the province of Normandy, because the treasurers of France were to write to me upon this head, and had prepared to send deputies to the king, in order to obtain his approbation of this retrenchment. I answered them, that there was no need for their taking this step, for that I would undertake to persuade his majesty thereto, who was already sufficiently inclined of himself to give them much greater marks of his affection, if the state of his affairs, and the donations he was obliged to make to a number of insatiable courtiers, had permitted him. I further promised, that I would join with them, in order to ease the provinces of a much greater sum than this, from which the poor could obtain but a very small relief. I perceived the reasonableness of the promise I had made them, when I saw a sum of two hundred forty-six thousand three hundred and eighty-one livres joined to the taille of Provence, though it had nothing to do with it.

This sum consisted of the following articles : Thirty-three thousand livres for the bridges and causeways of the whole province, which extended both to Rouen and Caën : Thirty-seven thousand five hundred livres for the suppression of the edict on linnen cloth in those two districts : Twenty-two thousand five hundred livres for the maintenance of the bridge of Rouen, raised by an assessment on those two districts ; although on this account several sums were levied upon Paris and other cities : Fifteen thousand livres for the bridges of Mantes and Saint-Cloud : Thirty thousand livres for the canal of communication between the Seine and the Loire : And eight thousand three hundred and eighty one livres for the grand prevost of the province. I repeat it again, that all these different collections were foreign to the taille. And it was not reasonable, that persons who received no advantage from the public repairs,

pairs, should be obliged to furnish money for them. 1606.

For some years past they had considerably augmented these sums, which, in appearance, were designed for that use; but which, in reality, remained in the purses of some individuals, without one penny being returned to the king.

I obliged the receiver of Angoulême to be answerable for some money which he alledged was not now in his hands: had that been true, he was not the less liable to pay it, because it could not have been legally demanded of him without letters patents from the king. Although it might happen that some things escaped me, yet Henry let nothing pass unnoticed; he had been informed that some powder had been embezzled, and he desired me to have those who were guilty of that misdemeanor prosecuted for it; it being absolutely necessary for the security of the stores in the magazines, that such practices should be punished, as being a matter of great consequence with respect to all the magazines in general. He discovered that there was carrying on in my absence a commission for recovery of the sums omitted to be received, and of false seizures: he wrote immediately to the chancellor, that the affair should be superseded, because, as I must certainly have been acquainted with it before I went away, I should have taken some measures about it, if I had thought it would have been brought into question.

His expences this year were as great as usual; I don't mean in presents of jewels suitable to so opulent a prince, for in these Henry did not shew himself prodigal; as for example, designing to make a present of a jewel to an Italian lady, he was desirous that it should not be mean; but at the same time, that the price might not exceed a thousand or twelve hundred crowns: and he wrote to me to look out for a ring for him, with the diamond cut in the form of a heart; or in any other, rather than to be cut table-fashion, because the expence would be less

1606. and the shew greater: but his personal expences, and those at play especially, always made up a very considerable article. I often received messages, like that of the 11th of December: Henry having lost all his money at play, sent me word in a billet, of which Lomenie's nephew was the bearer, that Morand must bring him that evening two thousand pistoles. I had then excessive large accounts to settle with Parfait, for the extraordinary expences of his household. On the 4th of October he sent me orders to pay eighty-five thousand five hundred and four livres to mademoiselle Du-Beuil, for which that billet was to serve for a receipt. He had remitted to Zamet, as payment of the remainder of an account he was indebted to him for the year 1602, the tax of two sols six deniers, upon three bushels of salt; but as this tax did not now subsist, I was obliged to pay Zamet, this year, thirty-seven thousand four hundred and ninety-two livres, to which that old account amounted; and to pay him besides, thirty-four thousand two hundred and twenty livres, which he had since lent to his majesty, or disbursed for him. He made La-Varenne a present of a thousand crowns. Villeroi, by his orders, wrote to my son, that I must pay a debt which this prince owed to Balbani, who was confined in Fort-l'Évêque; and that I must endeavour to procure his release.

Among other expences, which did Henry more honour, I take in those for repairing the gates of Saint-Bernard, and the Temple, and the fountains before the sessions-house, and the cross du Tiroir. His majesty had written to the Prevot des Marchands, that he desired this work might be finished before Midsummer. The council, I know not for what reason, gave an arret afterwards which rendered this order ineffectual, by applying the money designed for these fountains to paving the streets of Paris, contrary to their first intentions, when, in the contract with the paviors, it was ordered, that the

the sum necessary for this purpose should be levied upon the inhabitants of the city, according to the number of feet the pavement before each door consisted of; his majesty, however, insisted upon knowing why these works were delayed, and upon what account the council had committed this error.

This prince had often desired me to give him general accounts, which should contain a detail of every thing relating to my three principal offices, of superintendant of the finances, grand master of the ordnance, and superintendant of the buildings and fortifications. I took an opportunity, when he was at the Louvre, and when I thought he had but little business upon his hands, to carry him these papers: but although it was very early in the morning when I left the Arsenal, yet when I came to the Louvre I found that his majesty was already gone out; I therefore sent all my papers back to the Arsenal, except a very short abstract, which I intended to shew him, and went to madame de Guise, to wait his return, she having often intreated me to dine with her.

It was to make a party for the chace, that Henry had risen so early that morning, and he was resolved to dine upon the partridges he should take in hawking: he used to say, that he never thought them so tender and good, as when they were taken in this manner; and especially when he could snatch them himself from the hawks. Towards the middle of the day Henry returned, extremely well satisfied with his morning's diversion, and in a gaiety of humour, which his good state of health, and the happy situation of his affairs, contributed greatly to increase; he entered the great hall, holding his partridges in his hand, and cried aloud to Coquet (who waited there for his return, and was talking to Parfait at one end of the hall) "Coquet, Coquet, you must not complain of Roquelaure, Thermes, Frontenanc, Arambure, and I, for want of a dinner, for we have brought something to

M 2

" treat

1606. " treat you with ; but go immediately and order
 " them to be dressed ; give them their share, but
 " let eight be reserved for my wife and I ; Bonne-
 " val here shall carry them to her from me, and
 " shall tell her, that I am going to drink her health ;
 " but take care and keep those birds that are least
 " bit by the hawks for me ; there are three very
 " fat, which I took from them myself, and which
 " they have scarce touched."

As Henry was distributing his partridges, La-
 Clielle came in, and with him Parfait, bringing in
 a large bason, gilt with gold, and covered with a
 napkin : " Sire, cried he twice, embrace my knees,
 " for I have brought you a great many, and very
 " fine ones." " See how rejoiced Parfait is, said
 " the king ; this will make him fatter by an inch
 " upon the ribs ; I find he has brought me some
 " good melons ; I am glad of it, for I am resolved
 " to eat my fill of them to-day : they never hurt
 " me when they are good, and when I eat them
 " while I am very hungry, and before meat, as the
 " physicians direct. I will give each of you a me-
 " lon before you have your partridges, when I have
 " first chosen out some for my wife and myself, and
 " for another person to whom I have promised
 " some." The king then going to his own apart-
 ment, gave a couple of melons to two boys who
 were at the door, whispering something in their ear
 at the same time : and as he came out of his long
 closet to go to his aviary, perceiving Fourcy, Be-
 ringhen, and La-Font, the latter bringing some-
 thing covered up in his hand, " La-Font, said Hen-
 " ry to him, are you bringing me a ragout for my
 " dinner?" " Yes, sire, replied Beringhen, but
 " these are raw meats, fit only to feast the eyes
 " with." " That is not what I want, replied his
 " majesty, for I am excessively hungry, and would
 " rather have my dinner than any other thing : but,
 " La-Font, what is it you have wrapped up so?"
 " Sire, said Fourcy, he has got patterns of seve-
 " ral

“ral sorts of stuffs, carpets, and tapestry, which
 “your best manufacturers have undertaken to
 “make.” “Oh! replied Henry, they will afford
 “us some amusement after dinner; I will shew them
 “to my wife, and to another person, whose opinion
 “and mine do not always agree, especially when we
 “are talking of what he calls baubles and trifles: I
 “believe Fourcy, added he, you guess whom I mean;
 “I should be glad to have him present with my
 “wife when you shew us these stuffs, it will bring
 “something to my remembrance which I want to
 “communicate to them when they are together,
 “that I may have their opinions: he often tells
 “me,” pursued his majesty, still speaking of me,
 but without naming me, “that he never thinks any
 “thing fine or good, that costs double its real va-
 “lue; and that I should be of the same opinion
 “with regard to all goods extremely dear: I know
 “what he hints at, and why he talks in this manner,
 “although I pretend to be ignorant; but we must
 “suffer him to talk, for he is not a man of few
 “words. Fourcy, go for him immediately; or
 “that he may be here the sooner, send one of my
 “coaches for him, or your own.”

The coachman meeting one of my footmen,
 whom I had sent to the Louvre to inquire if his
 majesty was returned, he came to the duchess of
 Guise's, where I had just dined: I surprised his
 majesty when I came in, for he did not expect to
 see me so soon. “You have made great haste,”
 said this prince to me when I entered the room,
 where he was still at table; “you could not possibly
 “have come directly from the Arsenal.” When I
 “told him where I had dined; “That whole family
 “being related to you, said he, and loving you so
 “much as they do, for which I am very glad, I
 “am persuaded that while they follow your coun-
 “sels, as they say they are determined to do, they
 “will never do any injury either to my person or
 “state.” “Sire, returned I, your majesty says

1606. " this in a manner so unreserved, that I see you
 " are in a good humour, and better satisfied with
 " me than you have been these fifteen days."
 " What! you still remember that then, interrupted
 " Henry; I assure you I do not; you know that
 " our little resentments ought never to last more
 " than a day: I am very sure that yours would
 " not hinder you from undertaking, the very next
 " day, to do something for my advantage in my
 " finances. I have not," continued Henry, with
 great gaiety, " found myself so light and so easy
 " these three months as this day; I mounted my
 " horse without help; I have had great pleasure in
 " the chace this morning; my hawks have flown,
 " and my greyhounds have run so well, that the
 " former have taken a great number of young par-
 " tridges, and the latter three large hares; one of
 " the best of my hawks, which I thought lost, has
 " been found and brought back to me; I have a
 " very good appetite, have eat some excellent me-
 " lons, and they have served me up some quails,
 " the fattest and tenderest I have ever eat. By let-
 " ters from Provence," continued the king, to
 shew me that every thing conspired to his happiness,
 " I am informed, that the seditions in Marseilles
 " are entirely quelled; and from several other pro-
 " vinces I have news, that there never has been so
 " fruitful a season, and that my people will grow
 " rich, if I permit them to export corn. Saint-
 " Antoine writes me word, that the prince of
 " Wales is always talking of me, and of the friend-
 " ship which he promised you he would ever pre-
 " serve for me. From Italy I am informed, that
 " affairs there are in such a situation, that I shall
 " have the honour of reconciling the Pope and the
 " Venetians. Bongars writes me word from Ger-
 " many, that the new king of Sweden is upon bet-
 " ter terms with his subjects; and that the land-
 " grave of Hesse acquires every day new friends
 " and allies. Buzenval has written to Villeroy, that
 " both

" both the Spaniards and Flemings are brought so
 " low, that they will soon be obliged to listen to 1606.
 " proposals for a peace, or a truce, of which I must
 " necessarily be the mediator and protector: and
 " thus begin to render myself the arbitrator of all
 " the differences among the princes of Christen-
 " dom. And for an increase of satisfaction, said
 " this prince gaily, behold me here at table, sur-
 " rounded with all these persons you see" (for he
 " had with him Du-Laurens, Du Perron the young-
 " er, Gutron, Des-Yvetaux, Chaumont, and the fa-
 " thers Cotton and Gonthier) " of whose affection
 " for me I am well assured, and who, as you know,
 " are capable of entertaining me with useful as well
 " as agreeable conversation; which shall not, how-
 " ever, hinder me from talking of business as soon
 " as I have dined; for then I will listen to every
 " body, and will satisfy all, if reason and justice
 " can do it."

I found, by some other things his majesty said,
 that the company had turned the conversation upon
 him in particular, and had alike praised him for his
 great qualities, and congratulated him upon his
 good fortune. It would be difficult, I said, to find
 better judges than they were. " However, said
 " Henry, I did not suffer all they said to pass with-
 " out contradiction." And he confessed, that all
 their praises of him could not destroy his consciouf-
 ness that he had many faults; and as to their com-
 pliments upon his good fortune, he told them, that
 if they had been with him from the time his father
 died, they would have been sensible that part of those
 compliments might have been spared, for that his
 miserable moments had far surpassed his happy ones.
 This led Henry to a reflection he used often to make,
 that he had not yet suffered so much by his declared
 enemies, as by the ingratitude and desertion of ma-
 ny, who, he said, were either his friends, allies,
 or subjects. The young Du-Perron, who in these
 last words found ample matter for his eloquence to

1606. display itself, began to treat this subject like a theologian or preacher, and even a mystic: "You have delivered your sentiments," said I when he concluded, "in so lofty a style, that nothing can be added to your discourse." I then maintained to him, as well as to all the company, agreeable to what his majesty had just said, or rather to what I had myself been a witness of, that this prince had enjoyed less tranquility during the peace, than he did in all the troubles and alarms of war. "Rosny, said the king to me, if you will put a few words upon this subject on paper, I will shew it to some incredulous persons." I replied, that it required some time to do that, and likewise might not be received favourably by every one. To this I added some other plain truths upon religion and policy; and the misery with which France was threatened if she should lose her king; which I believe was still less pleasing to the courtiers, than what I had said before.

This conversation, which from being gay and lively had taken a very serious turn, was interrupted by the queen, who had left her chamber, and was going to her closet. The king, rising from table, went to meet her, saying, "Well, my dear, were not the melons, partridges, and quails I sent you very good? if your appetite has been as keen, as mine, you have dined extremely well; I never eat so much as I have done to day, or was ever in a better humour; ask Rosny, he will tell you the occasion of it, and will acquaint you with the news I have received, and the conversation we have had." The queen, who was likewise more than usually chearful, replied, that to contribute, on her side, to divert his majesty, she had been making preparations for a ballet and an interlude of her own invention; the ballet was to represent the felicity of the golden age; and the interlude, the amusements of the four seasons in the year, "I do not say, added she, that I have not had

“ had a little assistance; for Duret and La-Clavelle
 “ have been with me the whole morning, while
 “ you were at the chace.” “ How charmed am I
 “ to see you in this humour, my dear, said Henry
 “ to her; I beseech you let us always live together
 “ in this manner.” Fourcy was then ordered to
 shew the patterns for the stuffs and tapestry. The
 king desired the queen to tell him her opinion of
 them; and turning to me, “ I know what yours is
 “ already, said he; but now let us see your abstracts
 “ of accounts?”

Of these there were three, the same number with
 the general accounts: this is a simple sketch of this
 undertaking; in the first, which regarded the su-
 perintendancy of the buildings and fortifications,
 the king found what was contained in the general
 account; 1st, a memorial of all the fortifications
 made in the frontiers since the direction was in my
 hands; 2d, of all the buildings and royal houses;
 3d, of all the moveables, hangings, gold and silver
 plate, which I had collected for him. The second
 compendium, which related to the finances, was an
 index to the memoirs; 1st, of the changes and im-
 provements which I had made in all the different
 parts of the king's finances and revenues; 2d, of
 all the gold and silver money actually in the treasu-
 ry; 3d, of the improvements which I had still to
 make, and of the sums which I hoped to add to
 the former. The third compendium, which re-
 lated to the office of the grand master, shewed the
 particulars of the general account; 1st, of pieces
 of six different bores, repositied in my Arsenal, and
 of all that related to the cannons; 2d, of the num-
 ber of bullets, with the means of keeping all the
 train of artillery, and employing them in good or-
 der; 3d, of the quantity of three sorts of gun-
 powder commonly used; 4th, of the quantity of
 arms, tools, and instruments of the train of artil-
 lery; 5th, of the number of soldiers, as well gen-
 tlemen as volunteers, whom the king could set on
 foot,

1606, foot, reckoned according to the division of the kingdom.

That the reader may the better understand what has been said a little higher, with respect to Spain and the United Provinces, it is necessary to see what passed this year in Flanders*. The Spaniards, to whom the army destined for the expedition of Sedan had given great umbrage, finding that they had nothing to apprehend from that quarter, the marquis Spinola set out from Genoa on the sixth of May, that he might arrive in Flanders on the 19th. The siege of Rhinburg, which the Spaniards undertook this year, was the only considerable action performed this campaign: at first the besieged defended themselves with their usual vigour, and made several sallies, by which two Spanish colonels lost their lives; the name of one of them was Thores, and the other commanded the new *terse*†, which came from Savoy. This bold defence made the event of the siege appear very doubtful, at best it was thought that it would be protracted a long time; Spinola was of this opinion, and the king supposed that Rhinberg would not surrender before the 20th of October: however, they capitulated the beginning of this month. If the courier was to be credited, who, the next day after the reduction of this city, was sent by Spinola to carry the news to Madrid, and who passed through Paris in his way, the besieged had not more than six tons of powder left; but, it must be confessed, that the Dutch did not, upon this occasion, exert the valour they had done in the preceding years; they were then indeed dispirited and weary of the war. The garrison, which was left by the senate to its own conduct, were satisfied with obtaining, that they should be permitted to march out with all marks of ho-

* Consult De Thou, the Merc. Franc. anno 1606. and Siri, ibid. on this subject.

† The word *terse*, which is made

use of in two or three places of Sully's Memoirs, signifies a battalion, or several companies of foot, forming one corps.

nour, such as carrying away their cannon, &c. 1606. They threw all the blame of their surrender upon the prince of Orange, who they said would neither succour the place, nor give any disturbance to the Spanish army. This reproach was not wholly without cause; prince Maurice's reputation suffered greatly from the inaction he lived in during this siege and the whole campaign.

Indeed the conduct of the United Provinces cannot be wondered at, if we consider that they were reduced to such extremities, that it was not possible for them to carry on the war much longer. All the letters from Buzenval and Berny * confirmed this truth; and public report did not exaggerate things in this respect. It was no less certain, that Spain was no longer in a condition to take advantage of their weakness. The sieges of Ostend and Sluys, had opened two wounds which they had never been able to close. In Flanders a peace was publicly talked of; and those who till then had shown themselves most against it, were, to their own astonishment, insensibly brought to approve of it. They now left off soliciting with ardour the assistance of France; or to have that reliance upon our promises as they had formerly. I am persuaded, that the still recent remembrance of all the obligations they lay under to his majesty, was one of the chief causes of a delay of a peace or a truce, which, but for that consideration, would have been concluded this year. A misunderstanding between the prince of Orange and Barnevelt, which divided the council of the states into two parties, contributed also to this delay; the former would not hear of a peace, and the latter cried out against a war. This opposition was the cause likewise that the council of France could take no resolutions with respect to the affairs of Flanders, since it was

* Brulard, lord of Berny.

1606. not possible to serve one party without injuring the other.

Buzenval returned to Paris the beginning of December, charged with a great number of proposals. His majesty not well knowing what to resolve upon, sent him to the Arsenal, where I was confined to my chamber, to confer with me upon them. I confess I was no less perplexed than the king; I saw plainly that, if there was any resolution to be taken, with respect to the peace between Spain and the United Provinces, this was the time for it: but in what manner should we act, or how second the designs of a people without strength, without union amongst themselves, and so destitute of advice, that, as it was plain, not being able to agree upon the choice of the deputies to be sent to his majesty, our own agent to them was obliged to take this commission upon himself: shall we prevail upon these provinces to submit to the French domination, and so make their quarrel our own? But is not this to engage rashly in a war with the whole house of Austria, the event of which would be so much the more doubtful, as the countries necessary to be possessed were at the greater distance from our own; as we had yet no preparations made for entering the territories of our enemies, or vessels to invade them by sea, but those belonging to the States: shall we be contented with receiving a certain number of towns, either as a security, or in perpetual possession, to indemnify us for what money and stores we had advanced, as Buzenval offered in their name? This proposal has all the inconveniencies of the first, without any of its advantages; we should besides have numerous garrisons to maintain, because these towns would be doubtless upon the frontiers, where the Flemings would behold us with almost as bad an eye as the Spaniards themselves, of which we have a very recent example, in their behaviour to the English in the like circumstance. In whatever manner we disguise any resolution which necessarily leads

leads to a war with Spain, it will as infallibly bring England upon us, as soon as we seem desirous of getting a footing, and making an establishment in the Low Countries; but that we might have nothing to fear either from the one or the other, it was necessary that our first attempt should be to make ourselves, by one stroke, masters of the sea against the Spaniards, and in a case of absolute necessity, against the English likewise. I believe I could then have engaged my head, that having nothing more to attack or defend but on the side of the Meuse, Spain would have entirely lost the Low Countries. But what great expences, and what prodigious efforts must necessarily be made, ere this could be accomplished? I am still persuaded that we might, without giving umbrage to our neighbours, and without suffering any greater inconvenience from Spain, than complaints and murmurs, have still continued secretly to favour the States, as we did at present: but besides that the sums we advanced for them, must be increased in proportion as their power and strength diminished, all the advantage we could hope for from it, would be merely to retard the peace for some years. In the present state of things, there was no other alternative, but an accommodation between Spain and the United Provinces, or a war between us and Spain: with respect to this accommodation, there were still two parts for us to take, either to suffer it to be made without our interposition, or to appear to be the mediators of it: the second was the most reasonable, and this was in the end embraced: but at the time of which I am speaking, the king was very far from approving this stroke of policy; and, in one sense, it was that which met with most opposition.

These were almost all the reflections I made to the king, who desired to know my opinion of Buzenval's deputation. I put them in writing, because I was not able to wait upon his majesty: it was not my fault, if this paper was not entirely satisfactory.

1606. tisfactory. We left it to time to bring matters to a conclusion, but they continued in the same doubtful state till the following year. The United Provinces made some small presents by Aërsens to the king and queen, for which his majesty sent them his thanks, and made a present, by the queen, to Aërsens's wife, of four hundred crowns in jewels. Aërsens, by his masters orders, presented the king with a relation of a voyage which the Dutch had lately made to the East Indies.

I have nothing more to say of Germany, than that the duke of Wirtemberg found the good effects of the king's protection: Montglat was his majesty's agent in that country; for as for Bongars, who was there also, and who had written a letter from Metz to me, which Henry read, because it was open, this prince would not permit him to stay in that city, nor in any other place, he said, where he might preach his doctrine.

All England was thrown into a consternation, by the discovery of a plot, carried on by the jesuits Garnet and Oldecorne, with several other Englishmen, against the king's person; the conspirators having resolved to blow up his majesty and the chief lords of the kingdom, when they were all assembled in the parliament-house, under which they had lodged barrels, and prepared trains of gunpowder.


M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XXIV.

ALL the affairs of the kingdom were this year so free from disturbance, that they ^{1607.} afford us scarce any event remarkable, or particular; but to compensate for this they present us with a scene which, notwithstanding its uniformity, is more striking than uncommon catastrophes, in which the writer or the reader is only entertained with repeated acts of inhumanity or corruption, such acts as can excite no other motion than those of horror and disgust. This striking scene is the plenty and the quiet with which all France was overspread: never were there known so many pleasures and diversions as appeared this winter in Paris and at court; and the same tokens of a happy reign were discovered likewise over all the kingdom. This happiness, which derived its source from the benevolent disposition of Henry, reflected in its turn upon him, and gave him back part of the benefits he bestowed. Disengaged from the hurry and tumult of war, till the time came prescribed by himself to complete the glory of his reign, he had little else to do but to resign

1606.  resign himself to the calm pleasures of a private life, amongst his faithful servants, and in his different palaces, which he visited successively one after the other: he was at Saint-Germains on the first of January, whither I could not go to pay my accustomed compliments to their majesties; the wound I had formerly received in my mouth opened by an imposthume, which confined me to my house. His majesty had the goodness to write to me, to let me know how greatly he was concerned for my indisposition, and sent two of his ministers, whom he chiefly employed, to confer with me upon the affairs of government, the plan of which he always formed in the beginning of the year. These two ministers were Villeroy and the keeper of the seals; for Sillery, whom I have already distinguished by this title, had been associated by his majesty with Bellievre in the office of chancellor, till by the death of that minister, which, it was foreseen, was not far off, he should fill the employment alone. Bellievre, once remarkable for the strength of his understanding, had been for some time so greatly altered, that it was necessary to give him a successor, while he was still alive: he bore this association so impatiently, although Sillery behaved with the utmost politeness to him, as afforded a new proof of his incapacity to act alone*. His weakness increased daily; and re-

* " You see, said he, to M. Bassompierre, a man going to seek his grave in Paris. I have served as long as I was able, and now, when I am found no longer fit for service, I am sent to my repose, and to take care of the salvation of my soul, which the doing other peoples business did not give me time to think of before: a chancellor without seals is like an apothecary without drugs." *Journal de Bassompierre.*

When Henry IV. required the seals of M. de Bellievre, in order to bestow them on Sillery, he took the

opportunity his journey to the Limosin afforded him for it, the great age and weakness of Bellievre not permitting him to follow the king in it: the chancellor said, " If his majesty would not make the seals ride post, he would take care to deliver them in time wherever his majesty should be. — You seem, sir, added he, to be afraid there is not ground enough in Guienne to bury me: I am in good health, and have no desire to live longer than I can be of service to you; but I should think life a burden to me should you think fit to discharge me."

turning

turning again to a state of infancy, he paid at length ^{1607.} the last tribute to nature, after having paid almost all the others.

The king came to Paris on the 2d of January, with a design to carry the queen to Vigny, but I dissuaded him from this journey, and he contented himself with making a tour to Fontainebleau, from whence he returned to Paris towards the end of February, in order to go to Chantilly, which was his ordinary residence during the month of March, it being very pleasant there in that season. In a letter he wrote to me from that place, dated March the 8th, he tells me, that the weather there was very fine; that he was every day on horseback, and passed his time very agreeably. He fixed no where, till, after returning to Paris on the 20th of March, he set out immediately for Fontainebleau, where he stayed the spring. He had fine weather during his journey from Paris to Fleury, whither he went to visit his children who were in that palace; but from thence to Fontainebleau the rain accompanied him all the way. In the letter in which his majesty gave me a detail of this journey, he likewise informed me that the dauphin had come a league to meet him; that he found him very handsome, as likewise his other children; that the queen, who was then with child, was very well in health; and that they expected to be very soon at Fontainebleau. "Send me the news of the city;" said this prince, in a letter dated the 1st of April. "My wife and I are in good health, as are likewise my son and the rest of my children, who are the prettiest creatures in the world, and give me infinite pleasure*."

P. Matt. tom. II. liv. lii. p. 688.

This great chancellor, whose probity and steadiness were universally acknowledged, had served under five kings. He was the author of many useful regulation in the chancery. He died the 3th of September, in the following year, aged 78 years. He was born at Lyons.

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* Persefixe says, "He loved all his children, legitimate and natural, with equal affection, but with different consideration: he would not suffer them to call him Monsieur; a title which seems to estrange children from their father, and to denote servitude and subjection, but or-

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The queen was delivered on the 16th of April, at 11 o'clock at night, of her second son, who was afterwards called the duke of * Orleans. Montmartin brought me the news of it immediately, in a billet from his majesty; and almost in the same moment I received a second letter from him, in which he commanded me to cause the cannon to be fired. The birth of this prince redoubled the joy of the royal family; the king, who had intended to return to Paris at the beginning of May, thought no longer of quitting Fontainebleau, from whence he only took a journey to visit madam de Moret.

Hunting was, as usual, his favourite diversion: although this exercise is not in my taste, yet I shall not venture to pronounce that it is not a very agreeable amusement, since so great a number of persons find an invincible attraction in it. The account that Prælin gave me from Fontainebleau, of the parties his majesty had engaged in, was not very likely to alter my opinion of it. In one of his letters he gave me a relation of the manner in which his majesty had spent one day: all the morning he had pass'd in fowling, hunted the wolf in the afternoon, and concluded the day with the chace of a stag, which had lasted till night, and in the midst of a shower of rain that held three or four hours; they were then six leagues from any place where they could lodge, and were obliged to ride from thence wet through with rain, except the king only, who changed all his cloaths before he came to Fontainebleau, where he arrived a little fatigued indeed, but in high spirits, and perfectly satisfied, because he had that day taken all that he had attacked. This is what princes call diversion; but we must not dispute their tastes or pleasures. The preceding day's fatigue did not prevent Henry from employing himself all the next morning in visiting his workmen, and running from

"dered them to call him Papa, a dying in his fifth year, before he
"name of love and tenderness." was baptized.

* He had no christian name,

... one

one work-room to another. "It is certain, added 1607.
 "Praslin, that at his return from the park he felt
 "some slight touches of a fever; but this was no-
 "thing to him." Henry, when he wrote to me on
 this subject, shewed himself a true sportsman, for he
 always slightly passed over his fatigues, and dwelt
 upon what he called his successes; for example, he
 wrote to me, on the 20th of May, that he had
 hunted the day before with infinite pleasure, and
 had not been incommoded with the heat; that he
 had taken his stag very early, dined at Ponthierry at
 ten o'clock, and at half an hour after two returned
 to Fontainebleau, where he found the queen, who
 had come to meet him. Another time he says, in
 one of his letters, "I have just taken a stag, amidst
 "great heat, and with great satisfaction." Predom-
 inant passions are always thought cheaply grati-
 fied, be the purchase ever so dear.

This prince, however, was not so much engrossed
 by his pleasures as to neglect any of his affairs; but
 as at that time they gave him but very little trouble,
 all he had to do was to write to me, or send for me
 to Fontainebleau, when he had any important affair
 to communicate to me: he sent for me and the pre-
 sident Jeannin on Easter-Wednesday, and ordered
 his council to attend him there on the Monday after
 Easter. He never forgot to reward any additional
 trouble, by new instances of his bounty; "I will
 "not, wrote he to me, wait for requests from those
 "by whom I am served with diligence and fidelity;
 "you assist me so well in my affairs, that it is fit I
 "should assist you likewise in yours; I therefore
 "assign you twenty thousand crowns out of the
 "money arising from the extraordinary branches of
 "my revenue: cause the necessary dispatches for it
 "to be made out." In another letter he says, "I
 "hear you are building at La-Chapelle, and mak-
 "ing a park there; as a friend to builders, and as
 "your good master, I make you a present of six
 N 2 " thousand

1607. “ thousand crowns, to help you to do something
 “ handsome there.”

There is another sort of letters which I received from Henry; that are far higher in my estimation, since the confidence of so great a prince ought by a faithful or affectionate minister to be preferred to presents; such are those in which he opened his heart to me, and confided to me his dearest interests. In one of these letters he thus expresses himself: “ A thought has occurred to me this morning, which makes it necessary for me to see you, and consult you, as the most faithful and affectionate of all my servants.” It was the same with every thing that happened to disturb his quiet. My son happened to hurt himself, in endeavouring to break a horse; his majesty sent a courier expressly to know the state of his health, writing to me, that as a father and a master he took all imaginable interest in it. My son was still more dangerously ill in November; and the king, not satisfied with sending Du Laurens his first physician to him, and recommending him in the most earnest manner to his care, wrote to me, that I was so dear to him, that if he imagined his presence was in the least necessary, he would come himself, to give me this proof of his affection; and with great goodness allowed me not only to defer my journey to Fontainebleau for two days, but for all the time that I could be useful to my son.

In the unhappy affair that happened at Amiens, where Rambures murdered my nephew D'Epinoi, the king being informed of the excessive affliction into which this cruel accident had plunged the brother of the deceased *, sent a person to visit him in

* Of several sons sprung from the marriage of Peter de Melun, prince of Epinoi, marquis of Richelbourg, and Hyppolita of Montmorency, of whom (as has been before mentioned) M. de Sully had taken the guardianship, only two then remained alive; William de Melun, prince of Epinoi, viscount

of Gand, constable of Flanders, grand bailiff of Hainault, knight of the order of the golden fleece, &c. it was he who had the great law-suit with the princess of Ligne, which will be mentioned hereafter: and Henry de Melun, marquis of Richelbourg, his younger brother, who was killed by Rambures.

his

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his name, and three several times afterwards sent him compliments of condolance. Some incendiaries had endeavoured to animate the whole family of Epinoi against the count of St. Paul*, whom they accused of having had a hand in the assassination of my nephew. Saint Paul, justly offended at these reports, came to his majesty, and, with all that generous confidence which innocence inspires, cleared himself of the imputed crime, by proving that he was in Calais when it was committed: he spoke of the unhappy victim of this cruelty and artifice with praises, and with a grief so sincere, that I myself regretted he was not at Amiens, where he said he might have prevented this accident: he protested that he would willingly have shed part of his own blood to have preserved the unfortunate D'Epinoi. He afterwards complained that his enemies, besides the other injurious reports they had propagated, gave out that his majesty had resolved to have him examined in a court of justice, and had promised to treat him with great severity; that I had determined to behave to him with contempt, and get him prohibited from coming to Paris while I was there. Saint Paul staid three whole days in Paris, to remove the suspicions that had been conceived of him. I thought he behaved like a brave and gallant man, upon this occasion; and I believe he was very well satisfied with the manner in which I treated him. Henry was as much interested in this affair as if it had concerned him personally; he cleared up the whole conduct of Saint Paul to me, and in a letter he wrote to me at that time, desired me not to give credit to any reports that should come from the Bastile, where my enemies had no other view but to join a second misfortune to the first. He exhorted me to take advantage of the confidence Saint Paul seemed to have in me, to prevent the affair from having any bad consequence.

* Francis d' Orleans, count of St. Paul.

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I was still confined to my house by this unfortunate accident, when the king came to me one day to confer with me about some affairs of gallantry, which I have forgot; all I remember is, that I expressed myself in very severe terms against Madame d'Angoulesme * and another person, who were principally concerned in it; and that I was bold enough to represent to Henry, that amours, which so little suited with his age and dignity, were so many baneful wounds to his glory, and probably would end in something still more fatal. My freedom, often graciously received, produced nothing this time but an extreme rage in Henry, and drew upon myself the most lively reproaches from him. He left my chamber in such wrath, that he was heard to say aloud, and with great emotion, "It is impossible to bear with this man any longer; he is eternally contradicting me, and approves of nothing I propose: but, by heaven, I will make him obey me; he shall not appear in my presence these fifteen days." My disgrace appeared to all that were present as a thing absolutely resolved on. My servants were all afflicted; but many others, I believe, inwardly rejoiced at it.

At seven o'clock the next morning, the king came to the arsenal, with five or six persons whom he brought with him in his coach. He would not allow my people to give me notice of his arrival; but walked up to my apartment, and tapped at my closet-door himself. Upon my asking, "Who is there?" he replied, "It is the king." I knew his voice, and was not a little surprised at this visit. "Well, what are you doing here?" said he, entering with Roquelaure, De-Vic, Zamet, La Varenne, and Erard the engineer; for he had occasion to speak to me about the fortifications of Calais. I replied, that I was writing letters, and preparing work for my secretaries. And, indeed, my table was all

* Charlotte de Montmorency, wife of Charles de Valois, duke of Angoulesme.

over-

overspread with letters and states of affairs, which I was to lay before the council that day. "And how long have you been thus employed?" said his majesty. "Ever since three o'clock," I replied. "Well, Roquelaure," said the prince turning to him, "for how much money would you lead this life?" "Faith, sire, not for all your treasures," replied Roquelaure. Henry made no answer; but commanding every one to retire, he began to confer with me upon matters in which it was impossible for me to be of his opinion; and this he easily perceived when I told him coldly, that I had no advice to give: that his majesty having, doubtless, taken his resolution after mature deliberation, all that remained to be done was to obey him, since he was displeased when my sentiments happened not to agree with his. "Oh, oh," said Henry, smiling, and giving me a little tap on the cheek, "you are upon the reserve with me, and are angry at what happened yesterday: however, I am so no longer with you; come, come, embrace me and live with me with the same freedom as usual; for I love you not the less for it: on the contrary, from the moment that you cease to contend with me on occasions, where I am convinced you cannot approve my conduct, I shall believe you no longer love me."

It is circumstances like these that serve to discover the bottom of Henry's character; and, indeed, to relate them is to shew him in his fairest light. It is common enough to see the ministers and favourites of princes fall into disgrace; it is likewise common to see them deserve such usage by a criminal conduct. On these occasions, can it be said that the punishment is the consequence of a fault? this is seldom the case. That which ought to be done, merely upon principles of justice, is often the effect of caprice, levity, and ill humour; for reason seems to be equally incapable of making herself heard,

1607. When she opposes the passions, or when she joins with them.

The king afterwards conversed with me upon affairs which it is not permitted me to relate here; then embracing me, he bid me farewell. As he went out of my closet, he told De-Vic that he had provided for the fortifications of Calais; and raising his voice, "There are people, said he, foolish enough to fancy, that when I shew any resentment against M. de Sully, I am really in earnest, and that it will hold a long time; but they are greatly deceived: for when I reflect that he never makes me any remonstrances, or contradicts me but for my honour, my grandeur, and the advantage of my affairs, and with no view to his own interest, I love him the more for his freedom, and am impatient till I tell him that I do." A prince who understands his own interests, should thus from time to time give striking marks of his esteem for the minister he has made choice of; provided that choice be really good, it will likewise secure to him that of the public, which is a very essential point.

I now return to those affairs on which Villeroi and Sillery were, by the king's order, to confer with me. One of the most important related to the protestants. The king having in the preceding year granted them permission to hold a convocation in this, they were summoned to meet at Rochelle; and the deputies of which it was to be composed, were appointed in the provincial assemblies. It was from some of these very deputies his majesty received notice that the article of the convocation at Gap concerning the Pope, of which so much has been already said, was expressed in their papers. However ill-affected a part of those who bore the greatest sway in this assembly might be, they judged it necessary to send three deputies to his majesty, as well upon this affair, as some others which they knew would not be agreeable to him. The matter was this: they had determined to bring again under examination the question

question which had been already discussed with so much warmth at the assembly of Châtelleraut, concerning the nomination and number of the protestant deputies-general, and the duration of their office, as the time for which the present two were to be employed was near expired.

The king by sending the private deputies to me from Fontainebleau, where he then was, followed his usual custom on such occasions, which was to make me acquaint the assembly with his intentions as from myself; and from a principle of affection for my brethren, resolving, if he could not succeed by these means, to make use of his authority. On the 27th of April, my brother was sent by his majesty to confer with me; but, as I was still in expectation of seeing the king himself at Paris, I kept the deputies two or three days without giving them an answer, which I should have been glad to have concerted first with his majesty. On the 5th of May, I had a letter from him, in which he told me that he had altered his design of coming to Paris, and seemed impatient to know what I had done with the deputies. "I know already, said he, all they could say to you in answer to those representations, which, in the letter I sent you by your brother, I directed you to make them. M. de La-Nouë, to whom I spoke yesterday in the presence of M. de Villeroi, repeated to me the greatest part of what passed. He tells me, he never saw so many fools in one set of men, and named Rivet among others. It cannot be doubted but that the deputies, before they saw you, consulted first with M. du Pleffis, who instructed them what to say."

I wrote such a letter to the assembly as his majesty required of me: I exhorted them not to arrogate to themselves any power, with regard to the article concerning the general deputies, which belonged to the police or the government: I represented to them that the offices of the general deputies ought to last three years, less time not being sufficient to give

1607. give them a thorough knowledge of affairs; and that they ought not to content themselves with naming two deputies only; because, as the choice was not confirmed by the general assemblies till private ones had been first consulted (a formality that took up a great deal of time) if any accident happened to one of these deputies, the party would want an agent with the king; therefore if, instead of two, they always proposed six to his majesty, the vacancy would be supplied immediately by his naming one of the six pointed to him in the list. With regard to the Pope, I remonstrated to them, that by again urging a question which had been already pronounced useless and disrespectful to the Pope, who by his gentle and pacific character merited a quite different treatment, they ran the danger of losing, through their own faults, and for a trifle of no consideration, that calm and happy situation which had so long been the end of their wishes. I referred them to the sentiments they had formerly acknowledged, and concluded my letter by representing to them, in the most forcible manner I could, that disobedience of any kind to their master was dangerous; but that an unjust and unreasonable disobedience would infallibly end in their destruction.

I likewise got some other persons, whose influence with the party I was sensible was greater than mine, to write to them in the same terms, and entreat them to hear, and consider with attention, the arguments Montmartin had to add to theirs. I fixed upon him to be the bearer of this letter; and his majesty on this occasion thought him qualified to be the interpreter of his will to the assembly. I likewise made use of another motive to influence their resolutions, which his majesty expected would have some weight; and this was, that as the Rochellers had lately solicited the grant of two thousand livres for their college, I gave them to understand that his majesty would judge by the respect and deference which they induced their brethren to pay to his orders, whether they

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they merited this favour from him. Some days afterwards, I received a letter from the king, in which he informed me, that Montmartin and the deputies sent by him had been indeed tolerably well received by the assembly; but that they had not shewn all the respect they ought to have done, either to the speeches of the first, or to my letters, and those that were added to them, the authors of which had been styled in derision, *The four prophets of the church*. The accounts Montmartin sent from time to time of the disposition of the assembly were not more to Henry's satisfaction. "If this holds," says he in a letter to me, "they will be kings, and we the assemblies." However, that party which was for the king carried it at last. The zeal Montmartin exerted in this assembly was rewarded by the king with a pension, although it could not be said that his success was complete with regard to the obstacles he had surmounted: yet he thought he had done all that was possible to be done, since he was able to declare to his majesty that his will had been obeyed. "Montmartin," says Henry in a letter to me, "has taken great pains in this affair, though to little purpose, which he will not believe: he has brought the shadow, but the substance remains; the article of Gap having no more than two voices."

The church of Pons gave an instance of great boldness, when by ridiculously applying to herself the manner of governing in religious affairs by deputies-general, she took the liberty to name three persons to the king, Verac, Longchamp and Bertauville, to be invested in quality of particular deputies, with the government of that city. Henry answered only by his edicts: but he was not less offended with this insolence, than at the informations he received of the private conferences held together by Lesdiguières and Murat; as likewise of the disrespect shewn by the minister Chamier to the constable, in passing through Montelimar. I afterwards

1607. wards made this minister clear himself to Henry of the faults that had been charged upon him.

Towards the close of this year, the Rochellers gave the king another cause of disgust with them, by writing in a body, without his majesty's knowledge or mine, to the king of England, to demand the liberty of a Scotch minister, named Melvin, who had been imprisoned in the Tower of London for having published some injurious writings against the king and his council. The Rochellers had nothing to say in their own defence, against a fact which the minister Primrose himself, who had carried their dispatches to England, confessed to his majesty; and was, in consideration of this confession, permitted by the king to exercise the ministerial functions at Bourdeaux: but what rendered the Rochellers still more criminal, was, that they attempted to give this prisoner a retreat in their city, and to allow him to preach in their churches; which carried in it such an affectation of independence as was wholly inexcusable. The king of England did not require much entreaty to grant to a city he had an affection for, so small a favour as the enlargement of a stranger he was glad to have out of his kingdom; nor am I certain but that the council of London found a secret satisfaction in making the king of France such a present: but Henry, besides the consideration of his authority, which was wounded by such a procedure, had the same reason for not receiving him into his dominions, as king James had for driving him out of his. He sent Bullion to confer with me upon this affair, which was also the subject of many letters I received from him, or from Villeroi by his orders. I was likewise commissioned by the king to demand from the Rochellers an explanation of this conduct, to reproach them with their temerity, and to prevail upon them to implore a pardon for it of his majesty, who appeared perfectly satisfied with every step I took in this affair.

Among

Among many real faults charged upon that city, it was found that there were some groundless and unproved imputations. The jesuits being desirous of sending one of their society to preach in Rochelle, La Varenne, father Cotton, and some others, chose father Seguiran * for that purpose; and, that they might not hazard a refusal from his majesty, they applied to Beaulieu and Fresne, the two secretaries of state, who, by their own authority, and without mentioning it to his majesty, delivered to this father letters by which he was entitled to preach in Rochelle. The jesuit accordingly presented himself at the city gates, and being asked who he was, replied boldly, "I am Seguiran of the company of Jesus, who, by virtue of the king's letters, am come to preach in this city." "Go back again," said the sentinel very disrespectfully, "we know very well that Jesus had no companions, and that you have no letters from the king." The Rochellers, without hearing more, obliged the father to go back. Seguiran in a rage threatened to complain to the king, and did not fail to keep his word. He was so well seconded by his partisans at court, who, concealing all or part of the truth from his majesty, exaggerated the disrespect that had been shewn to his orders; in such a manner, that Henry in a billet, which expressed great rage and impatience, desired I would immediately attend him at Fontainebleau.

I found the court in an uproar, and the king surrounded by persons who used their utmost endeavours to keep up his resentment. "So," said he as soon as he saw me, "your people at Rochelle have acted in a strange manner: see the respect they shew me, and the gratitude they express for the friendship I have discovered for them, and the favours they have received from me." He then related the fact to me, with an air that shewed he was determined to chastise them for the fault;

* Gaspar Seguiran, afterwards confessor to Lewis XIII.

but

1607. but afterwards taking me aside, " I have been obliged to appear angry, said he, to silence those who are solicitous to find something to blame in my conduct. But the Rochellers have not been entirely in the wrong; for I neither gave orders for those letters, nor was informed of their intention to procure them; if I had, I should have taken care to prevent their being granted. However, you must think of some means to settle this matter, without discovering what the secretaries of state have done; for that will produce bad consequences for all their other dispatches."

After settling with his majesty what was fittest to be done, I wrote to the Rochellers, that it was absolutely necessary they should make some submission to the king, and assure him of their sorrow for having offended him. I insinuated to them, that by a little obedience this affair would end advantageously for them: I assured them, that the letters had been granted without his majesty's knowledge, but that they should have no farther trouble of that kind, and that the king would put an end to this without encroaching upon their privileges: and, lastly, that I would take all imaginable care to manage their interests, together with two or three of their best and wisest citizens, whom I desired them to send to me. The method I took, was to procure father Seguiran other letters signed by his majesty himself, by virtue of which he preached at Rochelle a few days, at the end of which he was recalled; a medium with which the jesuits themselves did not appear dissatisfied.

But it was extremely difficult to find one that would content the city of Poitiers. From the time that this city had been constrained to admit the jesuits, I was fatigued with repeated complaints of these fathers from the bishop, the lieutenant-general, and the principal inhabitants, either separately or in a body. These complaints, which were not made by the protestants only, but even by the catholics themselves, turned chiefly upon the great number

of partisans the jesuits had gained at Poitiers, who on their arrival had given them possession of a college, and expended great sums of money upon houses and furniture for them, and had even endowed them with the richest benefices in that district: yet that these fathers, who had been settled amongst them upwards of two years, and during that time had the most part of the youth of the city committed to their care, had been of no advantage to them; a misfortune of which they were more sensible, having had before, as they alledged, good colleges, and excellent masters. To these, they added complaints of more consequence, accusing the jesuits of sowing dissensions in the city, and in the whole province; and earnestly entreated that they might be recalled, and a royal college founded. It was not possible for me to do them much service with Henry, who had lately carried his complaisance for the Order they complained of so far, as to grant, at their solicitation, that his heart should be deposited in their college of La Fleche, instead of the church of Notre Dame, where it was the custom to deposite the hearts of our deceased kings. It was upon this occasion that a canon of that church, meeting a jesuit about the time that this distinction was granted to his society, asked him which he would rather choose, to put the king's heart into La Fleche, or la fleche into the king's heart*.

Notwithstanding the favours his majesty was every day showering upon the jesuits, this society doubtless thought themselves still more obliged to the king of Spain, since he continued to support all their designs; designs which they carried on in the kingdom, and even in the midst of the court itself. The Spanish ambassador freely disclosed to the great number of friends this crown had amongst us, that his catholic majesty was resolved to prevent, by every method in his power, a king so ambitious, so pru-

* *La fleche is French for an arrow.* dent,

1607. dent; so able a general as Henry was, whose reputation was so high, and who was so closely connected with the protestants, from executing those great schemes, which the money, the arms, and ammunition of all kinds he was amassing, gave but too much reason to believe he had projected; that it was necessary, therefore, to prevent his taking wing, since nothing could resist him in his flight, and find him sufficient employment within his own kingdom, by making use, for the same purposes as they had done during the league, of the enmity there was between the two religions established in France; that this was the business of all the catholics in Europe, whose fears were so much the more reasonable, as Henry had shewn by the protection he had granted to the United-Provinces, that he knew how to weaken the only power capable of making any great effort in their favour; and that it was therefore necessary to act in the same manner towards him, by endeavouring to consume his forces before they undertook openly to procure satisfaction.

In these discourses I was still less spared than any other person. It was said, that I had prevailed upon his majesty to undertake greater things than any other king of France had attempted for these five hundred years, and that my chief aim was the destruction of the catholic religion. This last charge is the only one I deny; and it is, indeed, absolutely false: but they thought themselves sufficiently authorized to load me with it, as it was the most likely to make some impression. I allege nothing against the ambassador without foundation. Some of the ecclesiastics, whom he had confided these secrets to, had still love enough for their country to be offended with such discourse; they thought they satisfied sufficiently their conscience, and their honour, by obliging cardinal Du-Perron and his brother, to whom they repeated what had been said, to swear by their faith, and the holy evangelists, that they would not name them. It cannot be imagined, that

that the two Du-Perrons would forge an imposture: 1607. all was too circumstantial. They repeated but the words of the ambassador, who had likewise said, that the affair was already so far advanced, that it was no longer to be called a mere project only: for, that many good ecclesiastics, and friends of his catholic majesty, had, and did still labour so effectually for its success, that a happy revolution was soon to be expected: besides, it was not only in his court that these informations were given to the king: he received them from all foreign courts, where the Spanish ambassadors publicly declared, that the balance began to lean too much on the side of France to make it possible for a peace to continue long between the two crowns. It was likewise added, that the Spaniards supported these discourses by the most strenuous endeavours, and the practice of every kind of artifice, to deprive France of her friends and allies.

Henry, alarmed as he had good reason to be with these informations, which multiplied on every side, had from the latter end of the last year talked of them to me; and sent La-Varenne for me one morning so very early that I found him in bed. As soon as he was drest, he took my hand, saying, "My friend, I want to confer with you on some matters of importance. We will go into my library, that we may not be soon interrupted; for, although I have some touches of the gout, I shall continue to walk as usual if possible." After relating to me the advices he had received, "Well, confess freely, said he, that you are not grieved to find by what I have told you, your opinion confirmed, that it is necessary great kings should resolve to be either hammers or anvils, when they have powerful rivals, and never depend too securely upon a perfect tranquility. I do not deny but that I have often contested this point with you; but since it is now clear that you were in the right, let us, at least, endeavour to reduce these rivals to such a condition, that when I am dead they

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“ may not carry their designs into execution, which
 “ probably they will then find it easier to do than
 “ during my life, who am well acquainted with all
 “ their arts. I am not so stupid, continued Henry,
 “ to take vengeance at my own expence upon your
 “ huguenots for the tricks they sometimes play me;
 “ they deceive themselves greatly if they imagine I
 “ know not the difference between my strength and
 “ theirs, and that it is easy for me to destroy them
 “ whenever I please: but I shall not for a trifling
 “ offence, or to satisfy others, weaken my state so
 “ much by ruining them, as to become a prey to
 “ my enemies. I would rather give them two
 “ blows, than receive one from them. Therefore,”
 pursued he, rising in his temper as he spoke, “ since
 “ the malice of these rascals is so great, we must en-
 “ deavour to prevent it; and, by heaven I swear,
 “ for they have kindled my rage, if they pursue
 “ their plots against my person and my state, for I
 “ was informed yesterday that there are designs laid
 “ against both, if they once oblige me to take up
 “ arms, I will do it in such a manner that they shall
 “ curse the hour when they disturbed my quiet.
 “ Therefore make all the necessary preparations,
 “ and provide arms, ammunition, artillery, and
 “ money in abundance; and consider of some motto
 “ for this approaching year 1607; that may express
 “ the resolutions we have just taken; that if they
 “ make war on us like foxes, we will make it on
 “ them like lions.” I was charmed to hear the
 king talk in this manner, and obeyed his orders with
 joy. Upon the golden medals, which I presented
 him with on the beginning of the year, was repre-
 sented the temple of Janus, a lily seemed to keep
 the door shut, which was still further explained by
 this motto: *Clausi, cavete recludam.* Henry was
 pleased with the invention, and thought I had suc-
 ceeded very well in expressing his resolution not to
 suffer himself to be prevented by his enemies.

It

It was with great difficulty that he could help regarding as such six or seven persons of his court, against whom, among many others, he was continually receiving informations. The whole house of Lorraine was comprehended in these informations, which was the cause that Henry, in a letter he wrote to me one day, made use of this expression: "All the crosses of Lorraine are false, and I am afraid the flowers-de-luce are not free from the contagion." To these complaints his majesty often added reproaches on me, for appearing publicly to have stronger connections with those princes than was consistent between persons whose principles were so different. Tho' I looked upon the injurious reports that were made of messieurs de Lorraine to be absolutely false; yet I thought I owed so much complaisance to my prince as to mention them to one of the family, who might give him the most cause for uneasiness. I did so, and in return received assurances of obedience and attachment so apparently sincere, that I thought myself under an obligation to undeceive his majesty in this respect. I entreated him to do me the justice to believe that I would, without hesitating a moment, break off any connexion which appeared to me in the smallest degree prejudicial to his authority; and since he permitted me to offer him my advice upon this head, I represented to him, that even his own interest required I should not abandon the person of whom he complained: for although it should be supposed, that he concealed from me some part of his sentiments, yet, while I continued to preserve some influence over him, I was very certain he would never carry his discontent so far as to be guilty of any breach of his duty towards him; and that it appeared absolutely necessary to me, in order to prevent giving any apprehensions to persons who would be so much the more affected with an imputation of disloyalty, as they deserved it less, to be silent, and wait for a full discovery with patience.

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With regard to those other persons who were comprehended in this accusation, the king told me nothing of which I had not been informed before him; but whenever I endeavoured to search into the bottom of these reports, I was always convinced there had been but little foundation for them. I was likewise so well acquainted with the motive that had induced these liars to propagate their slanders, that at length I took a resolution to give credit to none of them; and heard them without reply name several persons whom they found a malignant joy in abusing: not but it was certain, that the Spanish party at court was very considerable; I have been the first to acknowledge this truth, and none knew better than myself those who professed themselves friends to it: but what probability was there, that in this association, which they would endeavour to keep secret, they should introduce persons who were known to have a long and invincible aversion to it?

To this Henry answered, that it was still very dangerous that there never should be any conspiracy in the state, which they did not entertain hopes of engaging the noblest and greatest part of the court to join; and again repeated his importunities, that I would discover and prevent those supposed plots. Although I agreed with him in his maxim, yet I opposed it by another which seemed no less incontrovertible, that he ought not to think of punishing those crimes, as yet barely formed in the imagination, and carried no farther than wishes; but only to be strictly attentive to prevent their maturity, by separating, as if without design, those seeds that give rise to them. And this ought always to be the business of the minister rather than the master. But at most, what could these people, represented in such dreadful colours, be able to perform? It was by this reflection that I endeavoured to calm the mind of the king: Was not his single person more formidable than a thousand of theirs? and were not his servants, whom he knew to be faithful, a secure defence

defence against his enemies? Henry had no enemies among them whom he could not, by a single word, make tremble; and during his life, there was no reason to apprehend that the peace of the government would be disturbed by any revolution. 1607.

This is almost all that passed on the occasion, between his majesty and I, either by messages or letters, which he often sent me by the duke of Rohan. Henry at length followed the advice I gave him, which was to trace this business through bye-paths, and act with policy rather than force. I did not behold this employment in the same light with others that the king had charged me with in his court: I took several journies thither on this account, and neglected nothing which I thought capable of dissipating these malignant vapours. I even offered his majesty to devote to it all the time he permitted me to spend at my houses in the country, and to pursue my enquiries, without ceasing, near him: I agreed with him that the letters I sent him on this subject should be written in a cypher which it was not possible for any other to understand, or counterfeit: I sent Descartes to Barrault, to give him instructions concerning every thing it was necessary he should do and say at Madrid, both upon this subject and several others, among which was the affair relating to a memorial that was presented by the Spanish secretary, on the fifth of April, to the king at Fontainebleau.

In this memorial, his majesty was requested to give orders for restoring to the Spaniards a certain capture made by Grammont, and of which he had refused to make restitution, without a command from his majesty. To settle this affair all that was necessary was a perfect knowledge of the law relating to shipwrecks; for the capture was of that nature. The Spanish minister maintained that this law had nothing to do with vessels and pieces of ordnance, which belonged immediately to kings and sovereign princes, and of which they were actually making

1607. making use. Neither the law which was quoted, nor the matter in dispute, seemed so clear to the council, as Spain would have had it. Villeroi replied, that when the famous fleet sent by the deceased king of Spain against England was dispersed in the Channel, they had, indeed, procured the wrecks that came to Calais to be restored; but that this restitution was looked upon as a matter of favour rather than right. The king referred it to me to decide this question, by the authority and examples of the archives of the monarchy.

The proceedings this year in Flanders, between Spain and the United Provinces, will appear to have consequences very different for us. From the beginning of the campaign, some hopes were conceived, that a peace would be still delayed for a considerable time longer. Du-Terrail attempted to surprize the town of Sluys. for the Spaniards: he opened himself a passage by petarding, and advanced so far at the head of the soldiers, which had been given him by the archduke for this enterprize, that he would, doubtless, have taken the place if he had been better supported; but his soldiers being seized by a sudden panic, fled: and thus abandoned, he was obliged to retire, without drawing any advantage from his assault. The prince of Orange attacked Antwerp, and succeeded no better. So much pusillanimity served only to shew that both parties had forgot how to make war; and gave more weight to proposals for a peace, which were then publicly made. An aversion so deeply rooted as that of the Dutch for Spain, inspired them with a desire to make a last attempt (by the same method they had used the preceding year) to prevail upon us to make their cause our own. And this was the offer of a certain number of their best towns in hostage.

I believe I have not related what passed in the council upon this occasion. It was there alledged, that it was unreasonable to expect the king should
every

every year expend two millions for the service of the States, without drawing any advantage from it: that the example set by queen Elizabeth afforded us a very useful lesson: and that the Dutch had reason to think themselves happy, if we assisted them upon the same conditions. There was nothing surprising in this opinion of the council, except its being supported, as it was observed, only by the zealous catholics; those very catholics who would have sacrificed every thing for the success of their project to unite France and Spain. Probably it will not be easy to guess what end these counsellors pursued by measures in appearance so contradictory to each other. But I shall explain it: they were far from believing the offers of the Dutch as sincere as they really were; and, in their opinion, there needed no more to create discord between the king and the states, than to accept their proposition. It was, therefore, resolved to accept it, while I discovered no other ways my dislike of this measure than by refusing my voice.

However, it fell out quite contrary to their expectations. The council of the United-Provinces* received this overture gladly, and consented to give the king six towns in hostage, which he should chuse himself, provided he furnished them with two millions, and a certain quantity of powder, and favoured as formerly their levies of soldiers in France. Buzenval, as has been already observed, being returned the preceding winter, signified this resolution to our counsellors, who in the perplexity they were cast into by it, knew no longer either what to say, or what determination to take. And I am of opinion, that instead of mortifying I did them a real

* There can be no doubt but the United-Provinces, at that time, really designed, not only to put themselves under the protection of France, but even to submit to its sovereignty. See their deliberation on this affair in Vittorio Siri (Mem. Recond. vol. I. page 418): but

since it was necessity alone which compelled them to it, this disposition could not be very sincere; nor would they have continued in it long. I apprehend the best measures which could be followed, were those the duke of Sully prevailed on the council to take.

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service, by shewing them, as I did in full council, with what precipitation they had formed their first resolves: I convinced them, that the different supplies granted voluntarily each year by his majesty to the states, did not amount to near so large as that they now demanded of him: that the towns they offered were not upon examination a sufficient security for our money. In a word, I taxed, with still more satisfaction on their part than my own, all the arguments they had urged with ignorance and absurdity. This was an extraordinary council, composed of the king, the count of Soissons, the chancellor Bellievre, Sillery, Chateau-neuf, Villeroy, Chateau-vieux, as captain of the guards, and myself. No one having any thing to reply, it was no longer debated whether the offered towns should be accepted; and we confined ourselves to the former terms of friends and allies of the United-Provinces, either offensive or defensive; the pretext of which, as expressed in the treaty, for the states would have it one, was to make peace between them and the king of Spain.

The states, to whom this artful management gave a fair colour for throwing the blame upon us, would not admit the change; but absolutely declared, that since they were refused the money they had occasion for, after having been promised it, they were reduced to the necessity of making peace with their enemy, and that we should see it concluded immediately. This was not what his majesty expected, who had promised himself he should be able to keep things as they were a considerable time longer, by giving the Dutch the same supplies and assistances as usual; and had for that purpose advanced them the sum of six hundred thousand livres at the beginning of the year: but they took his money without altering their design of a cessation of arms. And it was apparently to prevent the reproaches they had reason to expect from us, that we were again importuned with the same proposals of towns given in hostage,
and

and of submission to the French domination, which they knew we had no inclination to accept. They likewise endeavoured to get a more considerable sum of money from us. Aëriens, on his return to Paris the beginning of April, had the assurance to demand a farther sum of two hundred thousand livres. Henry had his revenge; but, although he refused Aërsens, he neglected no other means to prevail upon the states to suspend their resolution of an accommodation, notwithstanding, he said, that from that moment it was but too clear to him that the point was already fixed on amongst them.

Preaux and Ruffly had already been commissioned by the king to make some representation to the states upon this subject. His majesty, who looked upon it as a piece of necessary policy to have some person, on his part, to assist at the general assembly of the states, which had been summoned to meet on the 6th of May, and in which they were to appoint deputies to acquaint him with their motives for agreeing to a cessation of arms, thought proper to order me to send Buzenval thither again with the utmost speed, and associated Jeannin with him in the commission. Their instructions differed but little from those which had been given to La-Boderie* on the subject of the suspension of arms. I delivered to Buzenval his appointments, as formerly, for six months, comprehending only the expences which Franchemen, his secretary, might have been at in his master's absence.

Affairs were in this situation when we heard the news of a great naval victory gained, on the † 25th of April, by the fleet of the United-Provinces, over that of the Spaniards; and almost immediately after, Buzenval sent us a relation of it, which

* Antony Le-Fevre de La-Boderie.

† Other historians say, Monday 30th of April: there are also some other differences in the accounts of

the action; but of little moment. See De Thou, book cxxxviii. Le Merc. Franç. anno 1607, and other historians.

was

1607. was as follows : Alvarès Avil *, the Spanish admiral, was ordered to cruise near the Straights of Gibraltar, to hinder the Dutch from entering the Mediterranean, and to deprive them of the trade of the Adriatic. The Dutch, to whom this was a most sensible mortification, gave the command of ten or twelve vessels to one of their ablest seamen, named Heemskerk †, with the title of vice-admiral, and ordered him to go and reconnoitre this fleet, and attack it. Avila, tho' already near twice as strong as his enemy, yet provided a reinforcement of twenty-six great ships, some of which were of a thousand ton burden, and augmented the number of his troops to three thousand five hundred men. With this accession of strength, he thought himself so secure of victory, that he brought a hundred and fifty gentlemen along with him only to be witnesses of it. However, instead of standing out to sea, as he ought to have done, with such certainty of success, he posted himself under the town and cast'e of Gibraltar, that he might not be obliged to fight but when he thought proper.

Heemskerk, who had taken none of these precautions, no sooner perceived that his enemy seemed to fear him, than he advanced to attack him, and immediately began the most furious battle that ever was fought in the memory of man. It lasted eight whole hours. The Dutch vice-admiral, at the beginning, attacked the vessel in which the Spanish admiral was, grappled it, and was ready to board her. A cannon-ball, which wounded him in the thigh soon after the fight began, left him only an hour's life, during which, and till within a moment of his death, he continued to give orders as if he felt no pain. When he found himself ready to expire, he delivered his sword to his lieutenant, obliging him, and all that were with him, to bind themselves by an oath, either to conquer or die.

* D. John Alvarès d'Avila.

† Jacob Heemskerk.

The lieutenant caused the same oath to be taken by the people in all the other vessels, where nothing was heard but a general cry of *Victory or death*. At length, the Dutch were victorious: they had lost only two vessels, and about two hundred and fifty men: the Spaniards lost sixteen ships, three were consumed by fire; and the others, among which was the admiral's ship, run aground. Avila, with thirty-five captains, fifty of his volunteers, and two thousand eight hundred soldiers, lost their lives in the fight; a memorable action, which was not only the source of tears and affliction to many widows and private persons, but filled all Spain with horror.

This, indeed, was finishing the war by a glorious stroke; for the negotiations were not laid aside, but were probably pushed on with the greater vigour for it. At first, they would have had them considered as measures proposed only by the marquis Spinola, or, at most, by the archduke, without any mention made of the king of Spain: and some persons were weak enough to believe, that the whole affair was conducted without the participation of his catholic majesty. But a very little reflection would have convinced them, that it was not at all probable, that either Spinola or the archduke would have ventured to negotiate with the mortal enemies of Spain, either for a peace or a truce of any length, for both were talked of, without, at least, the secret consent of the king of Spain, or of those that governed him. This prince had already resolved upon it, as afterwards appeared; and if any perplexity was observed, it proceeded either from the nature of the business itself, or from the dilatoriness of the council of Madrid; or, perhaps, from those to whom, for forms sake, he thought himself obliged to communicate his resolution, which was not without some danger for Spain, and consequently only taken up through an urgent necessity.

That

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That this peace would, and would not, be agreed to, was obstinately debated in France till the very moment that it was concluded. The king wrote me his opinion of the dispatches he received from the Low-Countries, and sent them regularly to Villeroi, Sillery, and me, to be examined in a kind of council. The most important of these dispatches was that which he received the latter end of May, importing, that in Flanders they waited for nothing to conclude the articles, but a promise from the king of Spain to satisfy whatever should be determined by the archduke, or by Spinola and the Dutch agents: that the marquiss's secretary, who had passed through Paris some days before, was gone to require this engagement, with the revocation of Don Diego D'Ibarra, which it was said he had actually procured. To the account which Henry gave me of those proceedings, in a letter he wrote to me from Monceaux, the 24th of May, I answered, that he might look upon the ratification of Spain as a thing absolutely certain, and consequently the peace, or a long truce: that apparently it would be under this last title, as most proper to conceal the shame of the Spaniards, that the agreement would be made. To which I added, agreeable to what I had said before, that Spain yielded to necessity, taking it for granted that she did not, under this step, conceal a snare by which she hoped one day to regain all that she now sacrificed to the exigence of her affairs.

Spinola's secretary had no commission for the scheme of ratification, as had been reported; for otherways it would certainly have arrived in Flanders, and even at Paris, before the end of July, as Henry had expected: either new obstacles were raised, or Spain, for other reasons, thought proper to delay it for some time longer, since it appeared not to be dated till the 18th of September. I was among the first that knew it, from the archduke's ambassador, who afterwards caused the report to be

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be spread at Paris, with circumstances very favourable for the Spaniards, which Henry would not believe. The Spaniards, said he, if it had been true, would not have been so long without saying it. I wrote him at Fontainebleau, an account of what the ambassador had said to me upon this subject; and my answer to him, the plainness of which highly pleased his majesty. The first dispatch that was expected from Holland, and which came, at length, on the 14th of October, shewed us exactly what we ought to think of this paper, which was wished for with so much impatience. •

By this his catholic majesty not only approved of the treaty for the suspension of arms, which had been made by the archduke, but likewise engaged his royal word to ratify all that should be concluded by this prince, or his agents, with the council of the United-Provinces, either for a peace or a long truce, leaving the choice to them, as if it had been settled and concluded by himself. He promised to use his whole authority in enforcing the strict observation of it throughout all his dominions, under a great penalty; provided only, that if nothing should be concluded upon by the negotiators, the present treaty should be deemed null, and neither of the parties be capable of demanding any other right from it, than that which they had before; and that every thing should remain in the same state they were at the time of the present ratification. It was written and signed in Spanish, *Yo el Rey*, and in a placart, with which the states were offended: but they were well enough satisfied with the form, except only that they still objected to these words; *Without prejudicing the rights of the parties*, which were expressed upon the supposition that nothing would be concluded. They raised still more difficulty about its being stipulated, that the present regulation should take place, as well with regard to religion, as to policy and government; believing that this clause was inserted to dispute with them the rights

1607. rights of real sovereigns of the ecclesiastic police : but the paper was, by the deputies from France and England, whose advice they asked concerning it, judged fit to be received. Jeannin, who sought to make the name of his master as considerable as he could, told them, that the king would never be brought to approve of their breaking off the treaty for a trifle, after having acceded to all, when, if the matter was well considered, it would be found that they engaged for nothing more than what they had themselves a desire to do. Therefore, it was his advice to them, that all the favours they granted to the catholics in their republic, should appear rather to proceed from themselves, or through the interposition of his most christian majesty, than by virtue of a contract made with the archdukes and with Spain.

This was the ratification that made so much noise *. Henry, when he sent me a copy of it by young Lomenie, wrote to me in these words : " Time " will unfold to us what advantages either party " will draw from it. Prince Maurice already talks " as if he would not receive it ; and that it would " likewise be rejected in Zealand." The truce, in which this negotiation ended at last, was neither completed nor published till the beginning of the year 1609, many different obstacles having kept it suspended during the whole course of the year 1608. But not to anticipate matters, let us content ourselves with saying, that in this it produced a total cessation of hostilities, during which they seriously negotiated a peace. The king still kept Jeannin and Prieux † in Holland. The king of England

* See De-Thou, Le Merc. Franc. and other historians, anno 1607 ; and also the 9981 vol. of the king's MSS. which contains many curious pieces on the affairs of the United-Netherlands.

† Mons. de Buzenval died at Leyden, the 23d of September ; a man of great reputation, as well

in France as in other nations. " To " do honour to his worth and me- " rit, say the Memoirs de l'His- " toire de France, the states-gene- " ral defrayed the expences of his " funeral, which was performed " with the same pomp and cere- " mony as the prince of Orange's " had been."

had

had also a deputy residing there. His conduct, with those people, sufficiently made known his character, such as I have already painted it. There was nothing to hinder him from humbling a power which was odious to him: France, although she could subsist without her neighbours better than any other crown, pointed out the way to him, and offered to shew the example: but what can be expected from persons who neither know how to seize opportunities as they offer, to execute any thing boldly, or even to desire any thing with steadiness? 1607.

Upon notice given by De-Vic, that in contempt of treaties, and notwithstanding repeated declarations from the archdukes, our neighbours continued building the fort of Rebuy, which would be soon in a condition of defence; the king sent orders to that vice-admiral to send some troops thither, who surprised the workmen, and threw down all that they had built, without killing or wounding any person whatever. "Our neighbours," said Villeroi, in a letter to me, "have reason to be offended: but it is better that they should be petitioners and complain, than that we should."

The Grisons, at length, determined to shew the Spaniards somewhat less respect, after having too long submitted to sooth and court them. The efforts which were made by the mutineers amongst them, to banish the protestants, and reduce the whole country to the Spanish yoke, ended in a real sedition, in which the senate discovered, that the count of Fuentes had made the bishop of Coire and his adherents play the chief parts, by means of two pensioners of Spain, who bore all the punishment: they were seized and delivered up to the secular power, which performed a speedy and exemplary piece of justice upon them. The Leagues, at the same time, caused the articles of Milan to be cancelled, the sole tie that bound them to Spain, and solemnly confirmed their alliances with France, and the Venetians: after this bold stroke, the Grisons

1607. sons became more than ever sensible how necessary the advice and assistance of his most christian majesty was to them. The courier, who came to make these two requests, brought this good news in six days after he quitted the Valteline.

Although the count of Fuentes, in public, talked of nothing but revenging his master, and affected to make great preparations in Germany and Switzerland; yet France was not alarmed, being persuaded, that if, by these vain threats, he could drive off any decision concerning the affair of the Valteline, he would not insist very obstinately on that of the two pensionaries, and of the cancelled articles. The emperor * had sufficient employment upon his hands in his own dominions: having attempted to deprive the protestants of Transilvania of liberty of conscience, a Transilvanian, named Bostkay, had put himself at their head, and handled the imperial troops so roughly, that the emperor, being apprehensive that the male-contentes would be joined by the Turks, found himself obliged to leave those people in quiet, and to grant to Bostkay the lordship of the country.

With regard to the Swiss cantons, Spain had reason to believe, that the Leagues would not have acted in the manner they had done, without the concurrence of those cantons which were in alliance with the dutchy of Milan.


The king gave the Grisons to understand, that he would not abandon them: he made the same promise to the little republic of Geneva, which he thought might be of some use to him in his great designs; he sent her money to maintain her forces, and to make a plentiful provision of ammunition. His majesty did still more; for he sent letters to Geneva, filled with expressions of his regard for that city, by Boisse, colonel of the regiment of Navarre, and governor of the city and castle of Bourg, and

* Rodolph.

offered them this officer to assist them in the conduct of their enterprizes; and did not scruple to communicate to them his design of making Geneva a magazine of cannon, and all kinds of warlike stores; as well to serve their occasions; as those which his majesty might have for them in those cantons. On the 21st of April, the republic returned the king an answer full of acknowledgments for the testimonies he gave them of his goodness, and promises of giving him the most exact informations of whatever their common enemies might practise against them. Notwithstanding these mutual good offices between the king and the republic of Geneva; Henry did not break with the duke of Savoy; but, on the contrary, the count of Garmare, envoy from this prince; having taken leave of the king at Fontainebleau, the latter end of October; with an intention to repass the Alps, with the marquis De-Beuillaque, envoy from the grand duke of Tuscany, without taking their rout through Paris (at least as the king thought) his majesty wrote to me, desiring that I would send him two crochets of precious stones, each valued at a thousand crowns; to present them with.

England was not without her troubles this year. His Britannic majesty, after putting to death the two jesuits, Garnet and Oldicorne, the chief actors in the plot laid against his person, which has been already mentioned in the preceding year, thought it necessary to have the oath of fidelity again administered to all his subjects, which was done with some circumstances derogatory to the honour and power of the Pope, on whom this prince laid the blame of the plot. This so highly offended his holiness, that he sent a brief into England; by which all the catholics there were prohibited from taking this oath.

The holy father was just then happily delivered from the perplexity into which his quarrel with the Venetians had thrown him: the king terminated this affair to the satisfaction of both parties, by the cardinal Joyeuse, who, in the month of April, sent his

1607.  equerry to his majesty, with the news and the conditions. The republic *, making the first advances as became them, resigned, through the interposition of the French ambassador, the two ecclesiastics who were prisoners, into the hands of a person appointed by the Pope to receive them, without any protestation that could be displeasing to his holiness. They, likewise, revoked all they had done against the interdict, upon his majesty's assuring them, that the Pope would afterwards recal this interdict in the most gracious form. All this was effected by cardinal Joyeuse, without any farther interposition of the Spanish ambassadors, than what he thought fit to allow them, which greatly enhanced the glory his majesty acquired by this reconciliation †. Henry, being desirous of giving some gratuity to cardinal Aldobrandin, left the manner of it to me: as I had some reason to believe that his eminence would be better pleased with money than rings and jewels, I decided for a pension rather than a present.

* According to other historians, the doge and senate would not give the Pope any satisfaction; nor receive absolution, much less sue for it. And Paul V. was extremely mortified at the indifference wherewith what he would have had esteemed as a favour, was received at Venice. Fresne-Canaye said, on his returning from his embassy, that the Pope was treated with no more respect at Venice than at Geneva. It is certain, at least, that all his endeavours to restore the jesuits were useless. "This affair, says Mons. de Péréfixe, retarded the accommodation for some months, and was near breaking it off entirely: for the Pope, considering they had been driven out on his account, absolutely insisted, that the senate should restore them their houses and effects: the senate, on the contrary, were obstinately resolved to risque every

thing rather than consent to it. "At last, the Pope, persuaded by the eloquence of the cardinal de Perron, conceived it would be more advisable to make some concessions in this point, than to run the hazard of embroiling all christendom; so that they remained banished from the Venetian territories. Pope Alexander VII. by his intercession, has re-established them there." Péréfixe, *Journal de L'Etoile, Mémoires pour l'Histoire de France, Mercure François, Matthieu, &c.* anno 1607.

† "It was I, said Henry IV. who made the peace of Italy." The *Mercure François* observes, that Francis de Castro, and Don Inigo de Cardenas, Ministers from Spain at Rome, in vain endeavoured to prevail on the Pope to appoint cardinal Zapata associate to cardinal de Joyeuse, anno 1607.

Cardinal

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Cardinal Barberin, returning to Rome from his nunciature, thought himself so much obliged to me for the services I had rendered him, that he talked of them publicly in terms of the highest acknowledgment, which, in the month of November, procured me a most obliging brief from Paul V. His holiness, at least, made this a pretence for writing to me, and recommending the person who was to succeed Barberin to my favour, who was the elu of the church of Mont-Politian. I shall not relate here either the acknowledgments made me by his holiness, or the praises, kind offers, and other civilities with which his letter was filled, since this would be only to repeat what I have already said, on occasion of the brief sent me formerly by Clement VIII. both which contained the most earnest entreaties, and most pathetic exhortations, to induce me to embrace the Roman catholic religion. I answered Paul V. in the same manner as I had done his predecessor, in terms the most polite, respectful, and satisfactory, I could imagine; except only, that I observed a profound silence upon the article of my change of religion.

But let us now return from this detail of foreign affairs to those of the government, and begin with the finances, after having premised, in the first place, that the finances of Navarre * were this year reunited to those of France; so that we shall no longer treat of them separately. And, secondly, that the long stay his majesty made in his palaces without Paris, and at a distance from his council, was the cause that almost all business was transacted by letters.

* The author here undoubtedly means to speak of the edict, tho' it was not past till 1609, whereby the Demesnes, and all the estates which belonged to Henry IV. as king of Navarre, and which, till that time, had always been kept separate from the crown of France, because that prince had granted the income thereof to his sister Catherine, were

united to it in an unalienated perpetuity, &c. These estates comprehend the duchies of Vendôme and Albret; the earldom of Foix, Armagnac, Bigorre, Gaure, Merle, Beaumont, La Ferre, the viscounty of Limoge, and other rights and revenues. See the above-mentioned historians.

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His

1607. His majesty chose rather to take this trouble upon him, than to oblige his secretaries and other people in office, to do business near his person. He, likewise, granted the same indulgence to those whose employments, tho' of another kind, required their attendance on him. His majesty's service was never less troublesome or expensive to the inferior officers of the crown.

The king, at a visit he made me in the arsenal, speaking of the regulations to be made in the finances for the present year, desired I would give him a summary account of all the money I had paid since I had governed the finances, to the persons named in the following calculation, which I presented to him, eight days afterwards, in this form: To the Swiss cantons, and leagues of the Grisons, seventeen millions three hundred and fifty thousand livres; debt to England in money given to the United Provinces, six millions nine hundred and fifty thousand livres; to several princes of Germany, four millions eight hundred and ninety-seven thousand livres; to the grand duke of Tuscany, and other Italian princes, eighteen thousand livres; to Gondy, Zamet, Cenamy, and other contractors, for debts due upon salt and the large farms, four millions eight hundred thousand livres; for debts contracted during the league, thirteen millions seven hundred and seventy thousand livres; for debts due to the provinces of Dauphiné, Lyonnois, Languedoc, &c. paid out of the money arising from the Gabelle, four millions seven hundred twenty-eight thousand livres; debts to several persons, paid from the money arising from any branch of the royal revenue, four millions eight hundred thirty-six thousand six hundred livres; to others, comprehended in a different account, four millions thirty-eight thousand three hundred livres; in presents made by his majesty, six millions forty-two thousand three hundred livres; for purchasing arms, ammunition and furniture of ordnance deposited in the magazines, twelve millions; for churches,

churches, and other buildings, six millions one hundred and fifty thousand livres; repairs and fortifications of towns, five millions seven hundred and eighty-five thousand livres; for pavements, bridges, causeways, &c. four millions eight hundred and fifty-five thousand livres; jewels and furniture purchased by his majesty, one million eight hundred thousand livres; total, eighty-seven millions, nine hundred and two thousand two hundred livres. 1607.

Queen Margaret had inherited, from the queen her mother, very considerable estates *, of which she made a cession to M. the Dauphin. The annual rent of these estates, at the time she resigned them, amounted to twenty-four thousand three hundred and seventy livres: in letting out leases, I increased them to thirty thousand three hundred and sixty livres. I also recovered a capital of one hundred and seventy thousand three hundred livres, which produced yearly the sum of thirteen thousand and three hundred livres, that had been alienated, either by the deceased queen or by Margaret herself. I could have wished to have recovered another part of those estates, worth ninety-four thousand livres, bringing in annually the sum of eight thousand three hundred and ninety-five livres; but it had been absolutely sold, or given away, by these two princesses.

I undertook to reunite to the crown lands, all the registers and clerks offices at the courts of Languedoc, which had been alienated. This design was no sooner known, than La-Fosse, and several other contractors, came to make me offers. The part I took was, to allow those farmers to redeem them, on condition that, at the expiration of a certain number of years, during which it was agreed they should enjoy them, they should restore them quite cleared to his majesty; a praise-worthy, and in some degree necessary oeconomy, and authorised by all the laws

* The particulars of these estates have been enumerated before, in speaking of the suit between queen Margaret and the duke of Angoulême.

1607. of public and private justice. The contracts made with the purchasers imparted expressly a power of perpetual redemption for their own court; an observation I make here, because the parliament of Toulouse, in registering the letters-patent expediated for this treaty, thought proper to accept their offices and those of the city. I wrote to the first president, Verdun, that the king was justly incensed at this contempt of the laws, which was still more extraordinary in persons appointed to maintain justice and order; and that he would have cited the whole body, if some friends of that parliament had not suspended the effects of his anger, by promising him an entire obedience; for, indeed, what right had the parliament of Languedoc to desire their offices should be excepted from a general rule for the whole province? and, if it was the kind of treaty that displeased them, why, since the proprietors of these offices were allowed to sell, alienate, infeod, and transfer them to others, in the same manner as if they had been part of their own property, would they attempt to deprive his majesty of this right, who was become proprietor of those estates? To this no reply could be made; and the parliament of Toulouse remain convicted of partiality from the fact itself.

The parliament of Dijon consented to purchase, for the sum of sixty thousand crowns, a grant for the jurisdiction of Bresse. However, they gave themselves no trouble about raising this sum, which determined his majesty to augment the gabelle in this province, which would, at least, procure him a part of it. The parliament presumed to suppress this augmentation by an arret, which was, indeed, cancelled by the council; but at the hazard of raising a sedition among the people, who had not before murmured at this impost. The baron de Lux was commissioned by the king, to declare to the parliament of Burgundy how highly he was offended at this procedure. I advised his majesty to prescribe

to that parliament a certain time for the payment of the sum that had been promised by them; and, if they did not satisfy him, to declare, without any other form, the jurisdiction of Bresse transferred to the parliament of Dauphiné. The word parliament carries with it an idea of equity, and even wisdom; yet, in these bodies, we meet with such instances of irregularity, that one cannot help concluding, that, if infallibility may be hoped for among men, it will be found rather in one than a multitude. 1607.

I have been always scandalized at the chambers of accounts, which, though established merely that the proceedings between the principal directors of the revenue, the different persons accountable, and the other receivers, might be carried on with method, integrity, and truth, have been of no other effect than to teach all the parties concerned to cheat and steal, by allowing, in the accounts which they passed, a thousand articles which were equally known to be false on one side and on the other. My scheme was to declare all the accounts which had been given in from the year 1598, exclusive, subject to review. I writ a circular letter to the chambers of accounts, the 1st of April, in which I told them, that, in conformity to the pleasure of his majesty, who desired to be satisfied concerning the conduct of all the persons entrusted with his money, I had made an exact search for the accounts audited in the council from the year 1598, and not having found such and such receipts for such and such years, which I particularised to each of the chambers, in the search that I had made into their several accounts, one of those things must have been, either that the persons, who were to pay in the public money, had neglected to give in their accounts, or that the council had omitted to keep the extracts or copies. To know which of these was true, I enjoined these chambers to have the duplicates of these accounts laid before them, to compare them with the papers of the king's council, and to draw up an extract of all that which they

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found

1607. found contrary to the form which the king prescribed them, and which was expressly sent them every year, that no difficulty might embarrass them. I did not forget to explain to them how that extract ought to be made, with exact inclusion of all residues, salaries, costs, charges of accounts, wages, exemptions, taxations, receipts, and other things of the like nature: I ordered them to make extracts of the accounts, not only of general but of particular receivers; because his majesty had been told, that the accounts of particular receivers, not being used to be audited by the council, were those which gave room for most of the illegal prosecutions on the part of the chambers. I concluded the letter with telling them, that, in order to set this inquiry on foot, I neither sent them an edict, nor particular commissions, because they were able to do it by virtue of their office: but, if they thought farther powers necessary, they need but ask them; and that they ought to think themselves obliged to his majesty, that, instead of the rigorous proceedings of a chamber of justice, or an appointment of commissioners, he employed only his ordinary officers to correct abuses; and that it was their business to requite this goodness, by giving the highest proofs of exactness and honesty.

This was an affair likely to cause a dispute between the chamber of accounts, and the treasurers, receivers, and other persons employed in the payment of the revenue, who endeavoured to turn aside the stroke by two means: first, by drawing the whole office upon the chamber of accounts; secondly, by declaring that the king had made them purchase a security, both for themselves and their under-agents, against any retrospective enquiry, by a tax of six hundred thousand livres, which had in effect been paid. There remained yet another refuge in the chamber of accounts, where we were opposed by difficulties of another kind. Those bodies pretended, as they always do, that the sovereign authority, with

with which they were entrusted in all affairs of the revenue, entitled them to give the last audit to all accounts, without being subject to any examination, even of the king himself. I considered this objection as no further valid than as between the chambers and myself; and I shewed his majesty, that I was willing to undertake these sovereign courts, provided that he, on his part, would give to me, to them, and the council, the necessary orders. It was not my fault that the affair stopt here.

Notwithstanding the regulation which had been made, the foregoing year, for the direction of the commissioners sent into the provinces, I still received frequent complaints against them. Hanapier presented his against the commissioners of the salt-office at Buzançois. I had some of them cited before the council, where a very severe reprimand was given to Tardieu. I could never make these fellows understand, that by harrassing the people for the tax, for instance upon salt, under a false appearance of zeal for the king's profit, he lost more than he gained upon the whole, by the insolvency to which debtors were reduced; and, to tell the truth, they took this pains only for the farmers of the revenue. There was a necessity of reviving, with yet stronger injunctions, the regulation of the gabelle, that which regards the distribution of salt among the provinces; that which regards the tax, and that about the sale of uncustomed salt: for there was no reason why the condition of collectors of the taille should be made worse, since it was an office in which no-body entered but by force, and which almost no-body quitted but with ruin. I, likewise, forbid the commissioners to use any extraordinary measures against the registers, notaries, sergeants, gaggers, and other public persons; or to oblige any public officer to pay the tax of his collection, without first sending to the commissioners-general at Paris the complete state of those taxes to be examined and authorised. I forbid them, likewise, to decide any controverted case without

1607. out applying to the council. When these dispositions were formed upon such views, it was not my interest that they should be kept secret, as they commonly are, between the ministers and the persons interested. By the same act which obliged Du-Monceau the commissioner of Berry to observe them, I made them known likewise to Marechal de La Châtre, and to the treasurers of France, with whom I ordered him to act in concert.

This province appeared to me to want some regulation with regard to the marshalseys; part of the revenues appointed for their maintenance being embezzled, or returned to the office of the receiver-general, the remainder was scarce sufficient to support a small number of archers: places where they were sent to reside were chosen with so little judgment, that in some, where they were most necessary, none were settled, as in Vatan, Issoudun, Argenton, Châteauroux, La-Châtre, and Saint Amand, where the royal authority was not well respected, and at the same time the middle of the province, where they were almost useless, was quite over-run with them. After consulting the treasurers of the province about a new method of distributing these guards, I sent them my regulation on this head. The court of election of Saint Amand being partly for Bourbonnois, they granted to the vice seneschal of this province a right of placing there a lieutenant and a brigade, as being of little importance for the public good, on whom this privilege was conferred.

I obliged those who had been security for the receivers of the deposits of the parliaments of Paris and Bordeaux, to bring in, within four months, the declarations of these receivers to the office of messieurs de Maiffes, Pont-carré, Caumarten, and Maupeou, appointed for that purpose; and I declared, with their consent, these offices reunited to the domaine sixteen years after that date.

Cusse and Marigné, appointed for the reimbursement of the six hundred thousand livres lent to the king,

king, in the year 1598, by the province of Brittany, 1607, sent me their final account of receipt and expence; or rather an abstract, and an inaccurate abridgment, by which I found, that, for reimbursing six hundred thousand franks, they acknowledged to have received and given out near one million three hundred and forty thousand livres. I was already informed, by the complaints that were sent me from that province, of the nature of that estimate, and severely reprov'd those by whom it was given in. I also prosecuted several persons for thefts which Vitry discovered to me in Guienne *.

When it was known that the king designed to redeem several parts of his domaine, many contractors came and offered themselves for that purpose; one of them sent to enquire, whether the council would admit him to treat for a share of a hundred and fifty thousand livres: but he would neither discover his name, nor declare what part of the domaine, nor even the conditions that he would treat upon, only that those conditions were very advantageous for his majesty; because he neither desired a lease for a long time, nor any new regulations, but to take every thing upon the footing it was at present. He made it an express condition, that, after he had declared himself, no one should be al-

* One of the principal acts of justice against the financiers, during the duke of Sully's ministry, was the imprisonment and punishment of the famous contractor L'Argentier. The Memoirs of the history of France, after having related (vol. II. p. 271.) his misdemeanors and embezzlements, adds the following story: "The last time the king was going to Fontainebleau, L'Argentier coming to take his leave of his majesty, told him, he would soon follow him thither to kiss his hand, and receive his commands; and added, that journey would cost him ten thousand crowns. *Ventre saint gris,*

"answered his majesty, (his usual oath) that is too much for a journey from Paris to Fontainebleau. Yes, sir, replied L'Argentier; but I have, with your majesty's leave, something else to do there: for I propose to take a model of the front of your house, in order to have one of mine in Champagne built on the same plan; at which the king laughing, took no further notice of it at that time: but when news was brought him of L'Argentier's imprisonment in the Châtelet, How, says he, is he going to take a model of the front of the Châtelet?"

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1607. I lowed to outbid him without paying him two hundred thousand livres. The singularity of this proposal did not hinder the council from accepting it; but the king insisted upon this person's giving in his name, and explaining himself, at least to the time and nature of the redemption, to him, the chancellor, and I. His majesty was apprehensive, that this unknown contractor might condition for a part of the domaine which was in the hands of some persons from whom it might not be convenient to take it. A man, named Longuet, presented likewise, on this subject, a long memorial, which the king sent me, as well as the proposals that were lately made him by the farmers of the aids at Fontainebleau, saying, that he suspected that those who came in this manner to make him proposals, in my absence, designed to impose upon him.

The duke of Nevers presented a petition to the council for suppressing the salt-office established at Rethelois, at the solicitation of the duchess his mother, to whom the king had given the profits of this office, for a certain sum agreed on between them. I was obliged to apply to the treasurers of Champagne to come at a certain knowledge of this affair, which had not been transacted in my time; and I found, without much difficulty, the original grant to the duchess of Nevers. The king, when he saw it, was of opinion, that this family could have no farther demand upon him. However, he sent it to me, with orders to make an exact calculation, and if any money remained due to the duke of Nevers, to pay it; and proposed, instead of suppressing this part of the revenue, to improve it as I had done the others. His majesty had two law-suits with this house for the inheritances of those of Poix and d'Albret, each party having a claim of millions upon the other. This affair was thought to be very perplexed: but, when I got the writings into my hands, I drew up a memorial so succinct and clear, that the king was soon convinced I had not been mistaken when I offered

offered it as my opinion, that each party would be obliged to come greatly down in his demands, 1607.

The people of Lyons had likewise a process in the council against Feydeau. They represented to his majesty, that the council's refusing to deliver them an arret, which they had already obtained, was a mortal injury to their trade. The king referred them to me, and I soon did their business. The good or ill done to such a city as Lyons is of importance to the whole kingdom. For this piece of service, the city of Lyons sent me her thanks by the mayor and sheriffs.

Upon a report sent me by the treasurers of Beziers, of the manner in which the tax of the *marc d'or* was levied, I caused an arret of council for suspending this levy to be granted. I know not what the king was made to believe concerning it: but his majesty wrote to me not to let this arret be signed; or if it was, not to give notice of it without an order from him; not that he intended to authorise the abuses that were committed in levying this tax, but he was willing, at least, to know what they were. However, those abuses so strongly affected the money arising from it, that I was persuaded if the king blamed us for any thing, it would be for having so long delayed to provide some remedy against them.

But I was afterwards charged with a fault still more grievous in relation to the council: my enemies endeavoured to persuade the king that I introduced none into it but persons who, as they said, neither merited nor had any regard to the duties of their employment; and that this procedure occasioned great confusion in the council. If what they had alleged had been true, I confess I should have deserved something more than those reproaches his majesty made me, as I should have basely abused that confidence with which he had entrusted the whole management of the finances to my care. As I examined into the occasion of such a report, I judged that it could only be the scheme I had formed

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1607. ed of joining to that great number of masters of requests, and other men of the robe, of whom the council was generally composed, some men of the sword, chosen from among those who had commissions to be present at them upon extraordinary occasions. And it is certain, that I never had an opportunity of talking on this subject to the princes, dukes, peers, and other officers of the crown, in whom I observed a strength of judgment and capacity, and that I did not endeavour to inspire them with an inclination for this employment, which, through a blind prejudice, they thought unworthy of their birth. He only is a truly great man who knows how to be useful to his country at all times, and on all occasions: and what is baseness but tarnishing by a soft and effeminate life, such as persons of quality in France lead during the peace, all the glory which they had been able to acquire in war?

Far from supposing that I had done wrong by endeavouring to undeceive all those useless voluptuaries of the court, I avowed to the king, that it had been my intention, and thought it my duty, to settle this matter with his majesty, although by letters; and, consequently, with no great conveniency. I drew out a plan of a new council, and sent it to the king, in which four men of the sword were to supply the places of as many counsellors out of the eight of which it was composed. To introduce this change in the most effectual manner, it was necessary to have a list of those persons in the kingdom best qualified for such an office, who had exceeded thirty years of age, out of which twenty should be chosen, which, allowing five for each quarter, would always keep the council complete. These were to attend constantly three mornings in a week where the council was held; and if they failed, were to be blotted out of the list, and their places given to others. What immense difference between a body thus composed, and an assembly where every member con-

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ducts himself by arts which have been the whole study of his life? 1607.

I shall not enter here into a particular detail of all that I designed to do. I only observed to the king, that if this project gave him as much pleasure as it did me, he would be still more satisfied with that general rule, which I believed I could so well regulate, as to make it possible for all the secrets of the state to be safely deposited with so many persons of different tempers, understandings, and stations. The king was going to hunt when he received my letter. He read it, however, twice over, and sent me word he would consider of my proposal: but all my endeavours to bring him over to my opinion proved ineffectual. The authorising great abuses is not the worst consequences of a bad custom; for those may be at all times opposed with success: but it is the giving credit to certain abuses less palpable, and concealing them under a masque of wisdom and an appearance of public utility, so as to draw the approbation of princes of the best understanding. These cannot be destroyed but after a long chain of reflections*, and applying remedies to them slowly, and one after the other: but the life of man is too short to afford him leisure for rooting up all of them. This was not the only occasion on which his majesty was not of the same opinion with me. He had been persuaded to erect a new chamber of justice against the financiers, a work that long experience had pronounced useless and liable to abuses; but still highly agreeable to this prince, who not chusing to apply any part of his ordinary revenues to his expences in play, buildings, mistresses, and other things of that nature, which, as I have already said, were very

* Certainly nothing can be truer than what the author says here; nor can any thing be more happily imagined than this project, to destroy those prejudices which still subsist amongst the nobility of France, even in this enlightened age. Why should the financiers,

trade, or other functions becoming a good patriot, be deemed more degrading, than an acquaintance with the belles lettres, which the nobility are not ashamed to cultivate? We may hope time will remove these prejudices.

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1607. considerable, was glad to find them supplied by a sum of money ready provided to his hand, and which the interested courtiers always represented much greater than he found it to be. I was so grieved to see Henry still the dupe of these people, that I shewed my resentment of it in full court: my plainness threw the king into such an extreme rage with me, that my enemies conceived great hopes of my disgrace. The adventure of the Arsenal, which I have already related, added to this, raised them still higher. But, notwithstanding all this, I could not hinder myself from openly reproving the commissioners of this chamber, when I saw them pretend ignorance of the chief criminals, and punish with no less ostentation than severity such as were guilty of slight misdemeanors.

Mangot, one of the commissioners, acting as king's counsel, having delivered an opinion contrary to particular orders he had received from the king, upon an affair which I have now forgot, I made him sensible that in me he had an overseer who was determined to let nothing pass. He complained of me to his majesty, and prevailed upon his brethren to join with him, at least so it was reported to me; and with circumstances so positive, that I could have no reason to doubt the truth of what I was told. The king did not, indeed, mention the affair to me; but this was far from being a proof that he had not been informed of it. I, therefore, thought it necessary to give his majesty a full relation of all I had said to Mangot, that I might not suffer his resentment to go so far as I had sometimes experienced. I had told Mangot, that I would not submit to those pretended orders from the king unless they were shewn to me. It was not difficult to give a bad turn to these words. When I wrote to his majesty, I thanked him for not giving credit to the reports my enemies had made to him of me: I assured him, that the heat I discovered on that occasion proceeded only from my grief at seeing his orders disobeyed by people who

who expected that he should despoil himself of his whole authority in favour of them, and his interests sacrificed to every consideration. I concluded with earnest entreaties that he would pardon me, if, contrary to my intention, I had done any thing to displease him. 1607.

However, I had been deceived in supposing he had heard of this affair: he told me in his answer that he was greatly surprised to hear the first news of this quarrel from me; that if those men had spoken to him, he would have replied, as a master who loves his servant; that all this was only an artifice to inflame me and force me to complain, and by that means create some misunderstanding between us. "I swear to you, added Henry, that I have never heard this affair mentioned: your temper is a little precipitate, and I perceive by your letter that you believe all that has been said to you. However, report is an absolute liar: moderate your resentment, and be not so easily prevailed upon to believe all the stories that are brought to you. By indifference, you will revenge yourself on those who envy and hate you, for the affection I bear you. This is the first time that I have taken a pen into my hand since this last fit of the gout. My resentment against these slanderers has surmounted my pain."

Caumartin had managed with such prudence and economy the money he was entrusted with to distribute among the Swiss cantons, that he found means to reserve thirty thousand crowns each year, with which he cleared other debts, by making a composition with the creditors. Such an example of justice and probity ought not to be passed over in silence; and is so much the more laudable, as that if he had sought a plausible pretence for turning part of this sum to his own profit, nothing was more easy than to make the Swiss murmur at his parsimony. I did not fail to mention this conduct with all the praises

1607. it deserved to Du-Refuge, who succeeded Caumartin.

The king had lately raised a company of gendarmes, to be commanded by the duke of Orleans, which he thought so fine, and so well mounted, when he went to review them, that he advanced them, together with that of the queen, a year's pay. He left it to my choice to take the two hundred thousand livres, which this muster cost him, out of the six hundred thousand which were every year brought into the treasury from the profits of the taille; or that the treasury, deducting that sum from the money appropriated to the ordinary expences of war, should pay it back again at the usual time of paying those companies.

With regard to the duties of my other employments, the most considerable, relating to the ordnance, was providing the necessary furniture for an armament of galleys; a work with which the king was highly pleased. However, I was willing to spare him part of the expence. In searching amongst the old papers of my predecessors in the post of grand master of the ordnance, I found, that in the former reigns, many pieces of artillery had been given to the captains of the galleys, which they had obliged themselves to restore when required; but had not done it. The council, to whom I communicated this discovery, agreed with me that we might commence a law-suit against the heirs of those captains, and force them to make restitution of the pieces of ordnance lent to their predecessors: but, as several persons of quality were interested in this prosecution, I sent the duke of Rohan to his majesty to ask his permission for it; sending him, at the same time, a paper I had drawn up concerning this affair. The king consented that the suit should be begun, but not carried on with all the rigour it might have been, which rendered all my trouble fruitless. It was always my opinion, that it would have been more proper for Henry to have seemed

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ignorant.

ignorant of the fact, than to have made attempts to have recovered those pieces of ordnance, and afterwards to desist from them. 1607.

I ordered plans to be taken of all the fortresses and coasts of Brittany, which I sent to his majesty, that he might see what was necessary to be done there. I lost this year two excellent engineers, Bonnesfort and the younger Erard, who was already not inferior to his father: their deaths grieved me extremely. I entreated the king not to dispose of their places, for which solicitations were immediately made, till we had both well examined the capacity of those who were candidates for them.

The forcible carrying away of the *Sieur de Fontange's* daughter, with which I begin the article of the police, relates also to my employment as grand master, since I received orders from his majesty to send some cannon before the castle of *Pierrefort*, which *Fontange*, assisted by his friends, besieged in his pursuit of the ravisher. The expences of a siege soon reduced him to great distress, and obliged him to have recourse to the king. Henry, moved with the justice of his cause, which, besides, as the common father of his subjects, he could not avoid interesting himself in, referred the petition and the bearer to *Sillery* and me, writing to me that he had just given orders to *Du-Bourg* and *Nerefant* * to hold their companies in readiness to march thither; and commanded *Noailles* to advance with his, in order to execute what I should judge fit to be done in favour of *Fontange*: but that if I was of opinion he should be at all the expence of the siege of *Pierrefort*, he recommended it to me to follow the most prudent methods I could in this affair, that it might be as little burthenfome as possible to the people. Henry also referred *Baumevielle* to us, who had proposed an expedient to him, which, he said, had

* *Philibert de Nerefant*, captain of the king's guards, and appointed by his majesty, the following year, grand master of the order of our lady of Mount-Carmel and St. Lazarus:—

1607. more vanity than solidity in it; and having employed Vanterol to seize a man who was suspected of having entertained some traiterous designs, he sent him to me to be paid the expences of his journey.

The good order of the police appeared to me likewise to be wounded by the judge of Saumur taking upon him, of his own private authority, to prohibit the exportation of grain out of the kingdom, and of selling it within the extent of his jurisdiction of Saumur. I got the council to cancel this sentence, even before his majesty was informed of it, and the officers of justice, by whom it was published, were summoned to appear and answer for their conduct.

The parliament of Rouen granted two arrets, which by some persons were pronounced to be very good, and by others extremely unjust: one was upon the shrine of St. Romain, which is maintained in the privilege of giving a pardon for any assassination, however atrocious it might be*: the other

* In favour of William de la Mothe-de-Pehu, an accomplice in the murder of Francis de Montmorency, lord of Hallot, the king's lieutenant-general in Normandy, committed sixteen years before, in a very atrocious manner, by Christopher marquis of Allegre. Henry IV. calling this affair before his council, changed the pardon granted to La Mothe, into a sentence of banishment for nine years; and to pay several fines, &c. The punishment, in all probability, would have been more severe, if the youth of the criminal had not in some degree alleviated his crime. The king, ever since the year 1597, had greatly abridged the privilege of which the chapter of Rouen is possessed. This process, which at that time made a great noise, occasioned a more strict enquiry into the nature of this question. M. De Thou, vol. IV. p. 160. Nicholas Rigault, the continuator of De Thou, and all other men of learning, so far as one can judge from what is said on

this subject in the *Mercur* François, anno 1607. p. 179, made no difficulty to esteem as fabulous the pretended miracle whereby St. Romain, archbishop of Rouen, delivered that city from the ravages of a monster or serpent, commonly called the Gargouille: being assisted in the enterprize by a criminal imprisoned for murder: from whence this privilege had its origin. The evidence by which it was endeavoured to prove that this privilege was really granted by several kings of France, could not stand the test of a strict scrutiny; but was found full of errors, suppositions, and falsities, in the times and dates. It is conjectured, that this pious fable had its origin from a true miracle performed by this archbishop; but that it was, by stopping an inundation; which poetical licence, according to custom, transformed into a monster, besides adorning the story with many others of its usual figures. The word *Hydra*, which was easily altered into Ser-

upon

upon the marriage of a man named Drouet, auditor of the chamber of accounts, whose history does not merit a place in these Memoirs. 1607.

The first president of this parliament being seized with a dangerous distemper, of which however he did not die, his majesty ordered me to tell Jamberville, who solicited for this dignity, that he always designed it for him, but that he was not pleased with the eagerness he shewed to enjoy it. The office of advocate to the king in the parliament of Bourdeaux becoming vacant by the death of the Sieur de Sault, queen Margaret and D'Ornano requested it for the son of Du-Bernet, counsellor in that court; but the king refused them, not being willing to give this place, the importance of which the late troubles had sufficiently shewn, to any one whose character he was not thoroughly acquainted with: but the picture I drew of Du-Bernet procured him the favour of Henry, and a grant of the place. His majesty greatly regretted the loss of Dinteville and Bretauville; as likewise that of two officers of his household, Sainte Marie, and Canisy. As he had created their posts only in their favour, they were suppressed at their decease.

That exactness which I have prescribed myself, obliges me to give an account here of several sums of money, which, by my papers, I find to be paid this year, by the orders, and for the private expences of his majesty. Thirty-six thousand livres to

pent, has so near a resemblance to the word which in Greek signifies an inundation, that this alone might easily occasion the mistake. To recite all the reasons contained in the pleadings, and writings of that time, or in the different dissertations wrote since then on this subject, for and against the privilege of the canons of the cathedral church of Rouen, would take up too much room here. It is no wonder there should have been so great an out-cry against an act of

devotion so singular as this, whereby an action the most unjust, and tending to authorize what is highly criminal, is made the most essential part of the commemoration of a saint. The ceremonies observed on this occasion (for they still subsist, and are performed every year at Rouen on the feast of the ascension, being called The Elevation of the Shrine) are described in the *Mercure François*, and in many other places.

1607. Don John de Medicis: the king made me take them from the hundred thousand livres placed in the state of finances of the present year, to the account of his uncle the grand duke of Tuscany. Three thousand to cardinal Givry, and the same sum to cardinal Seraphin, which remained of the revenues of the abbey of Clérac, due before the contract made with those of St. John de Latran. Three thousand two hundred and twenty-five livres to Santeny, who had lent that sum to the king. Eighteen thousand and sixty livres to the bishop of Carcassonne, which had been long and importunately solicited by him, as being due to him by his majesty, to whom he proposed expedients without number for the payment. The king ordered me to require a sword enriched with precious stones, and some papers, from this bishop, which he had given him as security for this sum. Many considerable sums were lost by Henry at play; but I shall not set them all down here. He sent Beringhen to me for nine thousand livres, which he had lost at the fair of St. Germain, in little jewels and trinkets; writing to me, that the merchants were very pressing for their money. Beringhen came again some days afterwards for five thousand two hundred and sixty-five livres; three days after that, I gave him three thousand more; and another time, three thousand six hundred livres.

I do not with these sums confound those that were given by the king to the prince of Condé, to enable him to make the tour of Italy; Henry could not be at too much expence to inspire this prince with proper sentiments; those which it cost him to repair the bastions of the gate of St. Antony and La Place-Royale; those which were paid to redeem the queen's rings from Rucelay, to whom they were pledged; nor those which he expended in buildings for his manufactures, which were very considerable, and, in my opinion, very usefess. The undertakers would have thrown down, for that purpose, all the houses on one side of La Place-Royale; but Henry, according

according to the plan of the comptroller Donon, 1607. }
 ordered them to be satisfied with erecting before those
 houses a kind of gallery, which preserved on that
 side of the square a uniformity with the others.

It was a difficult matter to agree upon a price with these celebrated Flemish tapestry-workers, which we had brought into France at so great an expence. At length it was resolved, in the presence of Sillery and I, that a hundred thousand franks should be given them for their establishment. Henry was very solicitous about the payment of this sum, "Having," said he, a great desire to keep them, and not to "lose the advances we have made." He would have been better pleased if these people could have been paid out of some other funds than those which he had reserved for himself: however, there was a necessity for satisfying them at any price whatever. His majesty made use of his authority to oblige De Vienne to sign an acquittal to the undertakers for linen-cloth in imitation of Dutch holland. This prince ordered a complete set of furniture to be made for him, which he sent to me to examine separately, to know if they had not imposed upon him. These things were not at all in my taste, and I was but a very indifferent judge of them: the price seemed to me to be excessive, as well as the quantity. Henry was of another opinion: after examining the work, and reading my paper, he wrote to me that there was not too much, and that they had not exceeded his orders; that he had never seen so beautiful a piece of work before, and that the workman must be paid his demands immediately.

Henry did not leave Fontainebleau * till the end of July, when he went to Monceaux, where he staid

* He was attacked by the gout on Whitsun-eve. The fit was violent, says Matthieu, the pain most severe; but his courage and the strength of his constitution would have overcome it, had he not taken a greater liberty in eating fruit than

his physicians thought proper to allow him. He did not indulge his disorder, but continued his usual exercise; and about the 21st of May, being in bed with the queen, and perceiving a new fit coming on in one of his feet, he removed into

1607. three weeks. Towards the close of August, he went to St. Maur, where he was detained some days by a slight indisposition, during which time the queen drank the waters of Vanvres. The king staid at Paris all the month of September: he went thither again in December, having returned to Fontainebleau about the middle of October, and passed the autumn there. M, le Connetable went thither likewise, and was very graciously received by his majesty when they met at Bouron.

It was one of this prince's highest enjoyments to be with his children, all of whom he loved with the most tender affection *. Hearing in the month of August that the effects of the contagious air began to be perceived at St. Germain, he wrote instantly to Madam de Montglat to take the children to Noisy; and sent Frontenac post to me, to tell me that he depended upon my care and diligence to provide coaches, litters, and waggons, necessary for this removal. Monsieur the Dauphin falling sick at Noisy, his majesty instantly writ me an account of it, as he did likewise of his recovery; for he never failed to give me notice of every alteration in his health, whether for the better or worse; as likewise of all the rest of the royal family. It was judged that the children of France might return with safety to St. Germain in the month of November; but Henry, not willing to run the least hazard in a matter of such consequence, writ to me and Madame de Mont-

another bed; and finding the motion in his removal of service to him, he got up and ordered himself to be carried to the great canal, where he walked till he had tired himself to such a degree, that when he came back he fell asleep; and on waking again felt himself free from pain.

* Henry IV. has been blamed for suffering the great affection he had, for both his lawful and natural children, to blind him so far,

as to prevent his seeing their faults, and acting with his usual prudence in what related to them. This I find him reproached with in the book called *Histoire de la Mere & du Fils*, vol. I. p. 43. But I do not know whether the anecdotes it contains are as full of truth as they are of curious matters: I find an appearance of prejudice in it for certain persons, and against others, which gives one reason sufficient to lay no great stress on its evidence.

glat,

glat, to stay at Noisy the whole month *. They were accordingly not removed till the first of December. 1607.

Time did not bring to the family of this prince that tranquillity which was so often disturbed by the pride and folly of women ; on the contrary, those domestic disorders increased every day : great part of the conversation I had with his majesty in his library turned upon this subject. Henry entreated me, in terms such as one friend would use to another, to interpose once more between the two persons that caused all his uneasiness. I shall treat this subject more fully in the Memoirs of the following year ; all I shall say concerning it in this, being only to explain the meaning of some letters I received from this prince : one of these letters is dated from Verneuil, near Senlis, April 15. He there complains, that after having promised him at the Louvre to use my utmost endeavours to bring about an accommodation, yet I had suffered fifteen days to pass without doing any thing towards it. “ I see, pursued he, that the entreaties of a friend are not sufficiently persuasive, and you will reduce me to the necessity of requiring your obedience as a king and a master. Do not fail then to perform your promise, if you love me, and desire that I should love you ; for I am resolved to extricate myself from all these intrigues, which, as you well know without my saying it, are but too often renewed ; and will put an end to them whatever it cost me. Adieu. You are very dear to me ; but I must be equally so to you, which I shall be convinced of if you render me the service I desire of you.”

* The comet which appeared this year in the month of September, gave occasion to take all these precautions for the health of the children of France ; because the astrologers gave out that it threatened their lives. Henry IV. said to

Matthieu his historian, who relates it, that the comet had shed its influence on the daughter of the king of England : and that, thro' God's mercy, the astrologers had been mistaken. Vol. II. book iii. p. 769.

I find

1607.

I find another dated from Fontainebleau, in the month of October, conceived in these terms :
 “ Something has happened in my family, which has
 “ given me more pain than any thing of the kind I
 “ have ever yet met with. I would purchase your
 “ presence at almost any price ; for you are the only
 “ person to whom I can open my heart, and from
 “ whose advice I receive the greatest consolation.
 “ This affair is neither of love nor of jealousy ; it
 “ is a matter of state. Dispatch your business
 “ quickly, that you may come to me as soon as
 “ possible. I employ M. Sillery ; but he is unequal
 “ to the task. You may guess what it is in which
 “ I want your assistance : this obstinacy and inflexibility
 “ will at length become insupportable.”
 “ For my private uneasiness,” writ he some days
 afterwards, “ it will last for ever : if you were here
 “ you could not restrain your anger, but would
 “ speak your sentiments freely.” The reader, I do
 not doubt, greatly pities this good prince ; and it
 was almost all that I could do for him.

The duke of Bouillon received a striking instance
 of the goodness and gentleness of Henry, when he
 resolved to yield Sedan again to him, and trust the
 guard of it to himself, by withdrawing Netancourt
 and the company he had placed there. The Sieur
 Gamaliel de Monsire, commissary in ordinary of
 war, was sent thither for that purpose. His in-
 structions, which were dated the last day of Decem-
 ber in the present year, imported, that although the
 term of four years, during which the royal garrison
 was to remain there, was not yet expired ; yet his
 majesty thought proper, for sufficient reasons, to
 withdraw it, and to put the duke of Bouillon again
 in possession of this city ; that Monsire should give
 this company their pay for the remaining four
 months of the present year, after which it should
 be disbanded ; and that this commissary should take
 care that the soldiers paid all the debts they had con-
 tracted among the town's people. It being the king's
 inten-

intention to fulfil exactly the article of the act of protection of April the 2d, 1596, by which his majesty engaged to maintain there a certain number of officers and troops for the security of the city, Monsire was directed to make those officers and soldiers, who were placed in Sedan in the room of those that were commanded to leave it, take a particular oath to his majesty, besides that which by the treaty they were obliged to take four times a year at their quarterly payments. These officers and soldiers bound themselves by oath to serve the king for and against all persons whatever, even against the duke of Bouillon himself, if he should neglect to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of 1606: and, lastly, Monsire was ordered to oblige the burghers of Sedan likewise to take the oath expressed in the act of protection, which differed from the other only in this, that they were released from that taken to the duke of Bouillon, and by his own consent, if he should ever be capable of engaging in opposite interests to those of his majesty. All this was exactly executed. The original instrument of this transaction was executed before the notaries of Sedan, and proved, as well as the two oaths taken by the burghers and soldiers, which were reduced to writing, and dated one on the 22d, the other on the 23d of January following.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XXV.

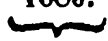
1608.

THE Memoirs of this year, as of the former, will contain none of those extraordinary events, which cannot be read without astonishment or horror: I shall continue in them my usual details of the government, court intrigues, and the private life of Henry as well as my own. The winter was spent in diversions more varied and more frequent than ever, and in shews prepared with great magnificence. The king had sent for some comedians from Italy, in whose performances he took much delight: he often sent for them to Fontainebleau to play before him, and in my absence commanded my son to pay them their appointments with great exactness. The arsenal was generally the place where those plays and shews were exhibited, which required some preparations. The king, sometimes when I was absent, came thither to run at the ring; but he never thought there was the same order and regularity preserved, as when I was there: and the queen, and the whole court, thought no other place so agreeable and convenient for theatrical representations, For this purpose I had

had caused a spacious hall to be built and fitted up, with an amphitheatre; and a great number of boxes, in several galleries separated from each other, with different degrees of height, and particular doors belonging to them. Two of these galleries were destined for the ladies: no man was allowed to enter with them. This was one of my regulations, which I would not suffer should be reversed, and which I did not think it beneath me to enforce the observation of.

One day when a very fine ballet was represented in this hall, I perceived a man leading in a lady, with whom he was preparing to enter one of the womens galleries: he was a foreigner, and I easily distinguished of what country by the swarthy colour of his skin: "Monsieur, said I to him, you must seek for another door if you please; for I do not imagine, that, with such a complexion, you can hope to pass for a fair lady." "My Lord," answered he in very bad French, "when you know who I am, I am persuaded you will not refuse to let me sit among those fair ladies, as swarthy as I am. My name is Pimentel; I have the honour to be very well with his majesty, who plays very often with me." Which was, indeed, too true; for this foreigner, whom I had already heard often mentioned, had gained immense sums from the king. "How, *Ventre-de-ma-vie*," said I to him, affecting to be extremely angry, "you are then that fat Portuguese*, who every day wins the king's money. *Pardieu*, you are come to a bad place; for I neither like, nor will suffer such people to come here." He offered to speak, but I would not hear him. "Go, go," said I, pushing him back, "you shall not enter here: I am not to be prevailed upon by your gibberish." The king afterwards asking him if he did not think the ballad very fine, and the dances

* Pimentel was not a Portuguese, but an Italian.

1608.  exquisitely performed. Pimentel told him that he had a great inclination to see it, but that he met his grand financier, with his negative front at the door, who turned him back. He then related his adventure with me, at which the king was extremely pleased, and laughed heartily at his manner of telling it; nor did he forget to divert the whole court with it afterwards.

I shall not here have recourse to the artifices of false modesty, to insinuate that the affection the king shewed for me, and the confidence he placed in me, had risen to such a height, that if I had been capable of aspiring to the superb title of favourite, I might have obtained it. The reader may judge of this by the offers his majesty made me this year: but it is necessary to take this matter a little higher.

Among the many calumnies which in the year 1605 had brought me to the brink of ruin, my enemies by private informations endeavoured to persuade Henry, that I intended to procure so rich and so powerful an alliance for my son*, as might one day render him formidable to his majesty himself: that several persons, either by my desire, or to make their court to me, laboured so earnestly for the success of his scheme, that already I had it in my choice to marry my son either to mademoiselle de Bourbon, de Maienne, de Montmorency, de Bouillon, or de Crequy, or into any of the richest private families in the kingdom, if I preferred a great estate to a noble name. This was one of the principal points of that long and serious conversation I had with his majesty the preceding year in his library, and of which I promised to relate all that I was permitted to discover, as opportunities offered.

* Maximilian de Bethune, marquis of Rosny, eldest son of the duke of Sully, by Anne de Courtenay his first wife. He was superintendant of the fortifications, governor of Mante and Gergeau, and master-general of the ordnance in reversion, after the death of his father, but died before him in 1634.

Henry

Henry asked me what were my views for my son, and whether there was any truth in those reports that he had heard concerning his marriage with one of those ladies I have mentioned. I acknowledged to this prince, that it was indeed true. Each of those families had made me offers very capable of dazzling an ambitious man; but that my constant reply had been, that it was from his majesty alone I would receive a wife for my son. 1608.

The king appeared extremely well satisfied with this answer, and these sentiments; and opening his heart entirely, he told me, that with regard to me, there were two things which would give him equal uneasiness: one of which was, if, knowing the extreme concern it gave him to see the chief of his nobility mixing their blood with that of a burgher, or a plebeian, I should ever dream of marrying my son below the dignity of his birth; and the other, if, erring in the contrary extreme, I should choose a wife for him either out of the house of Bourbon, or of Lorraine, but more especially that of Bouillon. Therefore, among the five young ladies proposed for Rosny, he saw only Mademoiselle de Crequy on whom he could fix his choice; for every one knew the houses of Bonne, Blanchefort, and Agoult, to be of the lowest class of the nobility, although otherwise distinguished as much by brave examples of personal valour, as by the most shining dignities of the state. Henry, confirming himself in this thought, added, that he would not have the proposal come from any but himself; and that he would take a convenient time for it, which he did almost immediately after.

Lesdiguières and Crequy were not hard to be persuaded: I may even say, that the eagerness they shewed for the conclusion of the match did not abate, till they saw the articles not only drawn up but signed. I may say, likewise, with equal truth, that in the conditions they found no artifice on my side: I sought rather to acquire tender friends, than relations

1608.

ons still nearer connected. Nothing fell out in the succeeding years, that did not confirm me in the thought, that I had succeeded in my endeavours to procure this happiness. Those years were full of glory and prosperity for me, but they are past: those friends so affectionate have disappeared with my favour; those allies so respectful have vanished with my fortune: but what do I say, have they not endeavoured to complete my misfortune, and that of my son, by giving me cause to detest on a thousand accounts the most unhappy of all alliances? Why had I not the power of reading hearts? But perhaps I have reason to thank heaven for my error and my credulity: the temptation to which I saw myself a short time afterwards exposed, might have been then too powerful for conscience to have surmounted.

Although the marriage*, thus absolutely resolved on, was not celebrated immediately, as both parties left it to the king to fix the time for it, from that moment I looked upon the tie, which united the family of Crequy to mine, as indissoluble; and I was so far the dupe of the sincerity and tenderness of my own heart, as to make this alliance one argument for not suffering myself to be influenced by the enchanting prospect that was suddenly offered to my view. It was at the latter end of this year, which was some months after the treaty with the Crequy family had been concluded, that this temptation was thrown in my way; and in the beginning of this, when I was more strongly assailed by it. But before I explain myself, it is necessary to observe, that it was still by an effect of the most refined ma-

* It was not celebrated till the month of October, in the following year, at Charenton, by M. Du Moulin, a reformed minister. The lady was only nine or ten years old: she was called Frances, daughter of Charles de Blanchefort de Crequy, prince of Poix, and afterwards duke

of Lesliguières, by his marriage with Magdalen de Bonny de Lesliguières, daughter of the constable of that name. The marquis of Rosny had issue by her, Maximilian Francis de Bethune duke of Sully, &c. and Louisa de Bethune, who died unmarried.

lice of my enemies, that I saw myself in a situation 1608.
wherein it depended only upon my own choice to reach the highest degree of greatness and splendor that any subject could arrive at.

My enemies then began to insinuate to the king, under an appearance of zeal both for him and me, which he thought very sincere, that he had not yet done enough for me; that he ought not to delay offering and obliging me to accept all that his munificence was able to bestow, without requiring any thing more of me than what indeed appeared most essential and indispensably necessary; namely, to quit the protestant and embrace the catholic religion. It was, doubtless, far from their intention to procure so many advantages for me; and I shall easily prove, that the object they had in view was diametrically opposite to that which they appeared to have by the proposals they made. They had inwardly so good an opinion of me, as to believe that I would not purchase any advancement at the price of quitting my religion. From my refusal, therefore, they hoped to persuade the king, that he had every thing to fear from a man who was capable of making his religion triumph over his interest, which it was generally found no considerations, whether sacred or profane, were able to resist. The king, pleased with the prospect of advancing me, received this proposal with intentions so different from those by whom it was made to him, that I cannot preserve a too grateful remembrance of his goodness.

Accordingly he sent for me one morning to the Louvre; and shutting himself up alone with me in his library, "Well, my friend, said he, you have been in great haste to conclude the treaty for your son's marriage, tho' I cannot conceive why; for in this alliance, neither for blood, riches, nor person, can I see any advantage for you." Henry, it is apparent, had forgot that I had done nothing in this affair but by his express commands. "I have resolved, continued he, to employ you

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R

"with

1608. " with more authority than ever in the administration, and to raise you and your family to all sorts of honours, dignities, and riches; but there is a necessity that you should assist me in the execution of this design: for if you do not contribute to it on your side, it will be difficult for me to accomplish my intentions, without prejudice to my affairs, and hazarding great blame; consequences which I am persuaded you would be unwilling I should draw upon myself. My design, then, is to ally you to myself, by giving my daughter Vendome * in marriage to your son, with a portion of two hundred thousand crowns in ready money, and a pension of ten thousand a year; the government of Berry to your son, to which I shall join that of Bourbonnois after Madame de Augoulêmes decease; and the domaine she possesses there, by reimbursing the money it cost her. I will likewise give your son the post of grand master of the ordnance in reversion, and the government of Poitou to your son-in-law, for which I shall give you that of Normandy in exchange; for I see very plainly, that poor M. de Montpensier † will not live long, any more than the Constable, whose office I likewise destine for you, and will give you the reversion of it now. But to favour all this, it is necessary that you and your son should embrace the catholic religion. I entreat you not to refuse me this request, since the good of my service, and the fortune of your house require it."

* Catherine-Henrietta de Vendome, legitimated daughter of Henry the IV. by Gabrielle d'Estrees. She married Charles of Lorraine, duke of Elbœuf, and died in 1663.

† Henry de Bourbon, duke of Montpensier, actually died in the month of February in this year, after languishing two years, during which time he lived only on women's milk; having prepared himself in a truly christian manner for

his death. Henry IV. being informed of it, said aloud, " We ought all to pray to God to grant us as much time to repent as this prince had." Matthieu, *ibid.* 772. The duke of Montpensier was only thirty-five years old. The branch of Bourbon Montpensier was extinct in him; for he left only one daughter, who was contracted in marriage to the duke of Orleans, second son of Henry IV.

The

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The recital I have made here is so proper to excite and to flatter vanity, that to avoid so dangerous a snare, I will not give way to any reflexions upon it, not even to such as must necessarily arise on the goodness of a prince, who enforced his entreaties with acts of the highest munificence. My answer was conceived, as I remember, in these terms: I told his majesty, that he did me more honour than I deserved, and even more than I could hope or desire: that it was not for me to decide concerning the two proposals he had made for my son, since his settlement in the world depended entirely on his majesty, and he was arrived to an age that rendered him capable of serious reflections upon religion, and might therefore direct his choice himself: but with regard to me, the case was quite different. I assured him with the utmost sincerity, that I could not think of increasing my honours, dignities, or riches, at the expence of my conscience: that if I should ever change my religion, it would be from conviction alone; neither ambition, avarice, nor vanity, being able to influence me: and that if I acted otherwise, his majesty himself would have good reason for distrusting a heart that could not preserve its faith to God. "But why," replied Henry, with a cordiality that sensibly affected me, "why should I suspect you, since you would not do any thing that I have not done before you, and which you your self advised me to do, when I proposed the affair to you. Give me, I beseech you, this satisfaction: I will allow you a month to consider of it: fear not that I will fail in the performance of any of my promises."

I have not, Sir, I replied; the least doubt but that your word is inviolable: I desire nothing so ardently as to please you; nor will I ever neglect any thing that is in my power to do. I promise to think seriously of all that you have been pleased to propose to me, still hoping I shall satisfy your majesty, tho' not perhaps in the manner you expect.

R 4

The

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The protestants hearing that I intended to break off my proposed alliance with Lesdiguières, and to marry my son to Mademoiselle de Vendôme, for this report was immediately spread every where, now believed they were going to lose me entirely. They had long, with the severest reproaches, accused me with having laboured to ruin the protestant party in France, by amassing up such considerable sums for the king, and providing such an abundance of warlike stores, which their fears represented to them would be first employed against them. In vain did I endeavour to convince them, that they had no reason to apprehend such designs from a prince like Henry. Their prejudices made them always return to their former suspicions of me: in these they were confirmed by the affection the king shewed for Rosny, calling him often *my son*; the free access which all ecclesiastics had to my house; the care I took to repair churches, hospitals, and convents, in which I every year expended a considerable sum of the royal revenues; the brief of Paul V. of which several copies had been taken; and I know not how many other circumstances, which all at that moment concurred to persuade them of my breach of faith.

The chief persons amongst the protestants, and the ministers especially, seemed to be most uneasy at this report, not only because of the triumph which their enemies were going to have over them; but because they were persuaded, and they even said it publicly, that if I was once prevailed upon to abandon them, I should not act with indifference towards them, but become their most zealous persecutor. For a long space of time, I heard nothing but exhortations, remonstrances, and harangues, from that party, which were not likely to be very efficacious after what the king had said to me, if I had not happily found the strongest support within myself. The counts of Sault, Lesdiguières, and the Crequy family, exerted themselves, in the mean time, with

with the utmost vigour, to hinder the marriage with Mademoiselle de Crequy from being broken off, and that with Mademoiselle de Vendome from going forward: they endeavoured to persuade the queen to interest herself in their cause, and complained to her of what was designed to their prejudice. But finding that she would do nothing in the affair, they renewed their solicitations to me, making use of every method they thought capable of keeping me on their side; assiduities, assurances, promises, oaths, all were employed to dissuade me from a design I had never entertained.

During these transactions, I left Paris to take a journey to Sully, and my other estates; and immediately upon my return, which was at the end of ten or twelve days, his majesty sent Villeroi to me, to receive my answer upon the proposals he had made to me. I was not sorry that he had deputed a person to me, before whom I could declare, with the utmost freedom, those sentiments which reflexion had but the more confirmed. I told Villeroi, that I most humbly thanked his majesty for all the honours he had conferred on me: that I could never consent to be invested with the offices of persons still living; and that, although they should become vacant, I did not think myself entitled to them, being already possessed of as many as I desired: that as for what regarded my son, I should never have any other counsel to give him, than to obey the king, and to do nothing against his own conscience. I had particular reasons for being still less explicit upon the articles of my change of religion: therefore, I only told Villeroi, that cardinal Du Perron should bear my answer to his majesty. His eminence, as well as Henry, thought there was great meaning in these words: the king related them to Du Perron, declaring that he entertained some hopes from them. And soon after this, the cardinal came to visit me, and entreated me to open my whole heart to him. My answer had both strength, and even theology

1608. enough in it to convince Du Perron that he had been deceived in his expectations: neither his learning nor his eloquence could move me; and at his return, he told the king I was inflexible.

This prince, who was desirous of making one effort more, sent for me again; but although he made use of no other arguments than what the gentleness of his disposition, and his affection for me suggested, and, if I may be permitted to say so, such solicitations as became our ancient friendship; yet I was persuaded the danger would not stop there, great as it was even then, especially when he began to reproach me, and called my constancy and firmness, obduracy to him; and a certain sign, he said, that I no longer loved him. At length, he told me, that this was the last time he would speak of this matter to me; and that he expected I should give him my son at least. To this I again replied, that I would not deny him; but that I could not consent to use the authority of a father to make my son embrace the Roman catholic religion. His firmness was equal to my own; and the king, who would not bestow his daughter on any of the princes of the blood for fear of rendering them too powerful, resolved to marry Mademoiselle de Vendôme to the son of M. le Connetable. The countess of Sault took this opportunity to renew her instances for the accomplishing her grand-daughter's marriage.

All that now remained to be done, was to guard against the counterblow of my enemies: and this I did not neglect, when I found that they were busy in preparing it for me. I took that opportunity to write to the king, telling him that I was not ignorant of any thing that was reported to him to give him a bad impression of my thoughts, words, and actions: that they imputed to me what I neither thought, said, or did. I earnestly entreated him not to forget the promise he had made me, to declare to me himself his will, and what causes of complaint he had against me. His answer was
wholly

wholly calculated to restore my quiet, and secure me against all apprehensions from my enemies: he told me in it, that I, in common with all persons in power, excited more envy than compassion. "You know, added he, whether I am exempted from it from the people of both religions. This then is all you have to do; that since I take your advice in all my affairs, do you also take mine in every thing that relates to you, as that of the most faithful friend you have in the world, and the best master that ever was."

It was not without some reason that Henry brought himself as an example. He likewise had his uneasinesses, and his secret enemies: for although we no longer, as formerly, saw seditions ready to break out in the kingdom, because the exertion of the royal authority had obliged insolence and mutiny to keep themselves concealed; yet it was but too certain, that in court, and among the most considerable persons in the kingdom, the same turbulent and restless spirit, the same eager panting after novelties, which had so long kept the state in disorder and anarchy, were perceived. That spirit now shewed itself in divisions amongst families, and quarrels between particular persons, which Henry laboured to compose by every method in his power, looking upon them as seeds from whence nothing but the most dangerous fruits could proceed: and it gave him great pain when he could not always succeed to his wish. The reign of Henry the fourth, which in many respects bore a great resemblance to that of Augustus, had likewise this in conformity with his, that it was disturbed by quarrels among his nobility; and on these occasions, the example of Augustus was what Henry commonly proposed to himself to imitate. *Æquitate non aculeo* was the motto, which, by his direction, I put on the gold medals struck this year, which represented a swarm of bees in the air, with their king in the midst of them without a sting. I presented these medals to

1608, Henry, as he passed through his little gallery to that which leads to the Tuilleries, where we walked together a long time, discoursing upon the subject I have just mentioned, and those domestic quarrels which embittered the life of a prince too gentle and too good, whose unhappiness I have so often deplored.

The reader may perceive, that in my Memoirs of the late years, I have faithfully observed the promise I had formerly made, to entertain him no more with the weaknesses of Henry. I carefully concealed from my secretaries, and all persons whatever, all that passed between Henry and me upon this subject, in those many long and secret conversations we had together: except the duchess of Beaufort and the marchioness of Verneuil, the name of no other woman has been mentioned in these Memoirs, with the title of mistress to the king. I chuse rather to suppress all the trouble I have suffered in this article, than make it known at the expence of my master's glory: probably I have carried this scruple too far. The public has heard so often the names of Madame de Moret*, Mademoiselle des Essarts, old

* Jacqueline Du-Beuil, countess of Moret; Charlotte des Essarts, countess of Romorantin; two of Henry the IVth's mistresses. By the first, he had Antony earl of Moret, killed at the battle of Castelnaudry, in 1632, and by the second, he had two daughters; one abbess of Fontveraud, and the other of Chelles. By these two ladies, by the duchess of Beaufort, and by the marchioness of Verneuil, who successively had openly the title of the king's mistress, he had eight children, which were all he legitimated. Besides these, he was in love with Mary Babou, viscountess of Lislaques, two cousins of the fair Gabrielle, and many others. See L'Histoire des Amours du Grand Alcandre.

After the death of Henry IV. Mademoiselle des Essarts secretly

married the cardinal of Guise, Lewis of Lorraine; the pope having granted him a dispensation for that marriage, and, at the same time, empowered him still to hold his benefices. This is proved by the very contract of marriage, found amongst the cardinal's papers after his death, executed in the most authentic form. Mention is made of this in the *Mercurie Hist. and Polit.* April 1688. From this marriage, two sons were born; one bishop of Condom, and the second earl of Romorantin; and two daughters, one of whom married the marquis of Rhodes. Charlotte des Essarts afterwards married Francis Du-Hallier-de l'Hospital, marshal of France, earl of Rosny, &c. The commentary of Les Amours du Grand Alcandre remarks only, that she was the cardinal of Guise's mistress.

Madame

1608.

Madame d'Angouleme, the countess of Sault, Mesdames de Ragny, and de Chamlivault, two of my relations; the Commandeur de Sillery*, Rambouillet, Marillac, Duret the physician, another physician who was a Jew, and many of the most considerable persons at court, all differently interested in these adventures of gallantry, either as principals or as parties concerned; that I might relate a great deal without saying any thing new, which would be indeed but a cold repetition of little debates and love quarrels, such as those which I have already slightly mentioned. The following circumstance I have excepted from this rule, as it is of a nature that seems to require I should justify my part in it to the public.

On one of those occasions when Henry was most deeply affected with the uneasy temper of the queen, it was reported, that he had quitted her with some emotion, and set out for Chantilly without seeing her. This indeed was true: he took the Arsenal in his way, and there opened his whole heart to me upon the cause of this dispute. The king pursued his journey, and I went in the afternoon to the Louvre, attended only by one of my secretaries, who did not follow me to the queen's little closet, where she was then shut up. Leonora Conchini was at the door of this closet, her head bending down towards her neck, like a person who was sleeping, or at least in a profound reverie. I drew her out of it, and she told me, that the queen would not suffer her to enter her closet, the door of which however was opened to me the moment I was named †.

stres; and afterwards of N. De-Vic, archbishop of Auch. She was the natural daughter of the baron of Sauter, in Champagne. *Journal du regne de Henry III.* printed in 1720, vol. I. p. 277.

* Noel de Sillery, brother of the chancellor, ambassador at Rome.

† The queen, for a long time, placed a great confidence in M. de Sully. The author of *L'Histoire de la Mere & du Fils*, says, that princes having resolved one day, by the advice of Conchini, to inform the king, that certain of the courtiers had had the boldness to make

I found

1608.

I found the queen busy in composing a letter to the king, which she allowed me to read : it breathed an air of spleen and bitterness, which must inevitably have very bad effects. I made her so sensible of the consequences it was likely to produce, that she consented to suppress it, though with great difficulty ; and upon condition that I should assist her in composing another, wherein nothing should be omitted of all, that, as she said, she might with justice represent to the king her husband. There was a necessity for complying with this request, to avoid something worse. Many little debates arose between us, concerning the choice of expressions and the force of each term. I had occasion for all the presence of mind I was capable of exerting, to find out the means of satisfying this princess, without displeasing the king, or of being guilty of any disrespect in addressing him. This letter, which was very long, I shall not repeat here. The queen complained in it of the continual gallantries of the king her husband ; but declared that she was excited to this only by the earnest desire she had to possess his heart entirely. If therefore she appeared to insist too absolutely upon his sacrificing his mistress to her, her quiet, her conscience, and her honour, the interest of the king, his health and his life, the good of the state, and the security of her childrens succession to the throne, which the marchioness de Ver-

love to her, she was desirous of previously taking the duke of Sully's advice in regard to it, who persuaded her not to execute that resolution, by representing to her, " That she was going to give the king the strongest and justest suspicion a sovereign could have of his wife ; since every man of common sense must know very well, that it would be highly improper to entertain a person of her rank on the subject of love, without previously being assured that it would not be disagreeable to her, or from her

" having made the first advances :
 " and that the king might imagine, the motives which had induced her to make such a discovery, were either fear that it should have been made by some other means, or that she had taken a disgust against the persons accused, by meeting with somebody else more agreeable in her eyes ; or, in fine, through the persuasion of others, who had influence enough over her to prevail on her to take this resolution." Vol. I. p. 10.

neuil

neuil took pleasure in rendering doubtful, were so many motives which reduced her, she said, to the disagreeable necessity of making such a demand, with some degree of peremptoriness: to awaken his tenderness, and excite his compassion, she added, that she, together with the children she had by him, would throw themselves at his feet: she reminded him of his promises, and took God to witness, that if she could not prevail upon him to keep them, she would, on her side, renounce all other vengeance against the marchioness de Verneuil.

All my caution was scarce sufficient to avoid the extremes the queen would have run into; and it is apparent, however, that I failed either in address or invention: for the king, when he received this letter, was mortally offended with it, and so much the more as he instantly perceived that it was not in the queen's manner. I had a billet from him immediately, conceived in these terms: "My friend, I have received the most impertinent letter from my wife that ever was wrote. I am not so angry with her, as with the person that has dictated it; for I see plainly that it is not her style. Endeavour to discover the author of it: I never shall have any regard for him, whoever he be; nor will I see him as long as I live. However secure I thought myself, I could not help being uneasy at this billet.

The king, on his arrival from Chantilly three or four days afterwards, came to the Arsenal. I was sufficiently perplexed by the questions he asked me concerning this affair; for it was expressly for that purpose that he came. "Well, said he, have you yet discovered the person who composed my wife's letter?" Not yet certainly, replied I, making use of some little address, but I hope to give you this satisfaction in two days; and probably sooner, if you will tell me what there is in it that displeases you. "Oh, replied he, the letter is mighty well writ; full of reasons, obedience, and submission; " but

1608. " but wounds me smiling, and while it flatters
 " piques me. I have no particular exception to
 " make to it; but, in general, I am offended with
 " it, and shall be the more so if it comes to be pub-
 " lic." But, Sire, replied I, if it be such as you
 say, it may have been written with a good inten-
 tion, and to prevent something still worse. " No !
 " no ! interrupted Henry, it is maliciously design-
 " ed, and with a view to insult me. If my wife
 " had taken advice from you, or from any of my
 " faithful servants in it, I should not have been so
 " much offended." What, Sire, resumed I hastily,
 if it was one of your faithful servants who had dic-
 tated it, would you not bear him some ill-will ?
 " Not the least, returned the king; for I should be
 " very certain, that he had done it with a good in-
 " tention." It is true, Sire, said I: therefore you
 must be no longer angry; for it was I that dictated
 it, through an apprehension that something worse
 might happen: and when you know my reasons,
 you will confess, that I was under a necessity of do-
 ing it. But to remove all your doubts, I will shew
 you the original, written in my own hand, at the
 side of the queen's. Saying this, I took the paper
 out of my pocket, and presented it to him.

The king, as he read it, made me observe some
 words, in the place of which the queen, when she
 copied the letter, had substituted others far less ob-
 liging. " Well, said he, since you are the author,
 " let us say no more of it: my heart is at rest. But
 " this is not all," added he, taking advantage of
 the ascendant, which on this occasion I seemed to
 have over the mind of the queen: " there are two
 " services which I expect from you." I listened to
 the king with great attention, and without once in-
 terrupting him, although he spoke a long time; and
 I shall here relate his words, which I took down in
 writing at the time. It is by this kind of familiar
 conversations that the heart is best known. " I
 " know, said he, that my wife came twice to your
 " house,

“ house, while I was at the chace: that she was shut
“ up with you in your wife’s closet, each time above
“ an hour; that at her coming out from thence,
“ although her colour seemed to be raised by anger,
“ and her eyes full of tears, yet she behaved in a
“ friendly manner to you, thanked you, and ap-
“ peared not ill satisfied with what you had said to
“ her; and that you may know I am not ill in-
“ formed, I shall not hide from you, that it was
“ my cousin de Rohan, your daughter, who re-
“ lated all this to me; not for the sake of telling
“ secrets, but because she thought I should be glad
“ to see my wife and you upon such friendly terms.
“ It must certainly be, therefore, that my wife has
“ some business of consequence with you: for, not-
“ withstanding all the questions I have asked her,
“ she has never said a single word, or given the
“ smallest intimation of these two conferences. I
“ forbid you likewise, upon pain of my displeasure,
“ to say any thing of this matter to my cousin de
“ Rohan: you will deprive me of the pleasure I
“ have in seeing her here, and she will never tell
“ me any thing more, if she knows I have repeated
“ this to you. Although I laugh and play with
“ her as with a child, yet I do not find in her a
“ childish understanding. She sometimes gives me
“ very good advice, and is extremely secret, which
“ is an excellent quality. I have told her many
“ things in confidence, which I have been con-
“ vinced she never mentioned, either to you or to
“ any other person.”

“ But to return to these two important services,
“ which only you, in my opinion, are able to un-
“ dertake, I have already said, and I repeat it again,
“ that you must be extremely careful to avoid giv-
“ ing the least suspicion that you have concerted
“ with me what you are to do and say in these af-
“ fairs: it must not appear, that I knew any thing
“ of your interposition, but that you act entirely of
“ yourself; and you must even feign to be appre-
“ hensive

1608.

“ henfive of its coming to my ear. One of these
 “ services regards Madam de Verneuil: it is with
 “ her you must begin, and this will smoothe your
 “ way, to the other. You must tell this lady, that
 “ as her particular friend you come to give her no-
 “ tice, that she is upon the point of losing my fa-
 “ vour, unless she behaves with great prudence and
 “ circumspection: that you have discovered, that
 “ there are persons at court who are endeavouring
 “ to engage me in affairs of gallantry with others;
 “ and if this should happen, you are fully persuaded,
 “ that I shall take her children from her, and con-
 “ fine her to a cloister; that this abatement in my
 “ affection for her is, in the first place, apparently
 “ caused by the suspicion I have entertained that
 “ she no longer loves me; that she takes the li-
 “ berty to speak of me often with contempt, and
 “ even prefers other persons to me: secondly, be-
 “ cause she seeks to strengthen herself with the in-
 “ terest of the house of Lorrain, as if she was
 “ desirous of some other protector than me; but,
 “ above all, her connexions and familiarities with
 “ messieurs de Guise and de Joinville offend me to
 “ the last degree; being fully convinced, that from
 “ them she will receive only such counsels as are
 “ dangerous both to my person and state; as like-
 “ wise from her father and her brother, with whom,
 “ notwithstanding my prohibition to her, she still
 “ corresponds, when she might have thought her-
 “ self happy, that, at her entreaties, I spared their
 “ lives; that she sends messages to her brother by
 “ his wife, whom I have allowed to visit him; but
 “ that the chief cause of my estrangement from her
 “ is her insolent behaviour to the queen.”

Henry then told me many circumstances con-
 cerning the marchioness, which I have already re-
 lated. “ If, continued he, either by an effect of
 “ your industry or good fortune, you can prevail
 “ upon her to alter her conduct in all these respects;
 “ you will not only free me from great uneasiness;

“ and set my heart at rest with regard to her, but 1608.
 “ you will likewise furnish yourself with the means
 “ of disposing the queen to accommodate herself to
 “ my will, which is the second service that I require
 “ and expect from you: you must remonstrate to
 “ her, still as from yourself, that it is absolutely
 “ necessary she should do so, if she would engage
 “ me to give her the satisfaction she demands.
 “ That, among many other causes of disgust which
 “ she gives me, nothing is more insupportable to
 “ me, than that absolute authority she suffers Con-
 “ chini and his wife to have over her; that these
 “ people make her do whatever they please, oppose
 “ all that they dislike, and love and hate, as they
 “ direct her passions; that they have at length ex-
 “ hausted my patience; and that I often reproach
 “ myself for not following the advice given me by
 “ the dukes of Florence, Don John, Jouanini,
 “ Gondy, and even what my own judgment sug-
 “ gested, which was to send them both back to
 “ Italy from Marseilles. I was desirous, pursued
 “ the king, to repair this fault through the inter-
 “ position of Don John; but I soon perceived it
 “ was too late: for scarce did Don John enter upon
 “ the subject with the queen, to whom he proposed
 “ it by way of advice, than she entered, as you
 “ know, into such an excess of rage against him,
 “ that there was no sort of reproaches, insults, and
 “ threats, which she did not use to him; so that,
 “ not able to endure them, he quitted France, not-
 “ withstanding all my endeavours to retain him.
 “ But before this happened, the princess of Orange
 “ thought of other expedients for removing these
 “ two persons, and proposed them to me by Madam
 “ de Verneuil, who thought to prevail upon the
 “ queen, by this complaisance for her favourites,
 “ to permit her to see her, and come freely to the
 “ Louvre. These expedients, to which I consent-
 “ ed, because I found you did not oppose them,
 “ were to marry Conchini to la Leonor, and after-
 “ wards

1608. "wards to send them back to Italy, under the honourable pretence of living with splendor in their own country, upon the great riches they had acquired in France: but all this, instead of softening my wife, or engaging her to alter her conduct, has only taught her to oppose my will with more obstinacy than before; and the Conchinis, both husband and wife, are now become so insolent and audacious, that they have dared to threaten my person, if I use any violence to their friends."

It was not easy for the king to quit this article, through the rage with which he was agitated against this whole party. Among many others, he recounted the following circumstance, which, till then, I thought he had been ignorant of. My wife knowing that Conchini had a design to purchase La-Ferté-au-Vidame, which was worth two or three hundred thousand crowns, she thought such a considerable estate would give occasion for murmurs that could not fail of reflecting back upon the queen herself, on account of the protection she was known to grant them. She did not hesitate therefore a moment about waiting on the queen, to represent to her, that it was her interest to hinder Conchini from pushing this matter any further. The queen received this advice very graciously, and thanked my wife for giving it her: but as soon as she saw the Conchinis, they knew so well how to make her alter her opinion, that she exclaimed in a strange manner against madame de Rosny, and would not see her for some time. Probably her resentment would have lasted much longer, had she not reflected, that both herself and her favourites had always occasion for me. "I have been told, added Henry, that Conchini had the impudence to reproach your wife upon this occasion, and used expressions so full of insolence both against her and me, that I am surprised she did not answer him more severely: but, doubtless, she was restrained by her fears of breaking

"ing.

"ing entirely with my wife. You cannot imagine," pursued Henry, not able to cease his investives against this Italian, "how greatly I was provoked to see this man undertake to be the challenger at a tournament, against all the bravest, and most gallant men in France, and this in the Grande rue St. Antoine, where my wife and all the ladies of the court were present; and that he should have the good fortune to carry it: but nothing ever gave me greater pleasure than I had at this course; when I saw M. de Nemours, and the marquis de Rosny your son, arrive, mounted upon two excellent horses, which they managed with equal grace, and uncommon justness."

Henry, after dwelling some time longer upon a circumstance that had given him so much pleasure, renewed his former subject. "Be careful, said he to me, to manage those two affairs, I have recommended to you, cautiously; proceed leisurely, and as opportunities offer, without hazarding any thing by too great precipitation: in a word, act with your usual prudence, respect, and address. I protest I shall esteem these two services more than if you had gained me a battle, or taken the city and castle of Milan with you cannons; for my heart suggests to me, that this man and woman will one day do great mischief: I find in them designs above their condition, and absolutely contrary to their duty." Again I asked this prince, why he referred to me an affair the success of which, in my hands, was so doubtful; whereas, if he would undertake it himself, it would cost him no more to execute it, than to pronounce to two women with a resolute tone, these few words, *I will have it so*. His reply to this, and the debates that followed, were the same with those which the reader has already too often seen in these Memoirs. At last he went away, saying, with an embrace, "Adieu, my friend: I earnestly recommend to you

Vol. IV. S "these

1608. " these two affairs, for they are very near my heart :
 " but, above all, be secret.

All that by my utmost endeavour I was able to do for the tranquility of this prince, was to procure him some short calms, amidst the long and often repeated storms he was obliged to suffer; in such an unequal vicissitude did he pass the few days that heaven still left him. One of his longest intervals of quiet was, during the queen's lying-in. She had followed the king, who went in the beginning of March to Fontainebleau. It was not possible to carry tenderness and solicitude farther than Henry did. While she was in this condition, he often writ to me from Fontainebleau, and in every letter gave me an account of the queen's health. " I " thought," said he in one of these letters, " to " have sent you the news of my wife's being brought " to bed; but I believe it will not be this night." In another, " My wife imagines she will go to the " the end of the month, since she has passed yester- " day." The queen was delivered of her third son * on the 26th of April.

The king still continuing to write to me as usual, in one of his letters ordered me to acquaint him how the news of his son's birth was received. " Not by " you, said he, for there I have no doubt, but by " the public." I keep with great care the following " letter, which his majesty sent me by the duke of " Rohan, upon hearing that my wife had lain-in of a son about the same time that the queen did. " I do " not believe, that any of my servants have taken " greater interest in the birth of my son d'Anjou " than you; and I would have you likewise believe, " that I surpass all your friends in joy for the birth " of yours: you will be stun'd with their flatteries; " but the assurance I give you of my friendship,

* Gaston-John Baptist of France, that he would dedicate him to the church, and that he should be called the cardinal of France. Ibid. 562.
 then called duke of Anjou, and afterwards duke of Orleans: he died in 1660. Siri makes Henry IV. say, before the birth of that prince,

" ought

"ought to be more convincing than all their speeches. Remember me to the lying-in lady *." 1608.

The queen was more indisposed after this lying-in, than she had ever been before; but proper remedies being used, she was soon restored to perfect health. The king took all imaginable care of her. He came to Paris the beginning of May, but returned almost immediately after to Fontainebleau, and the joy the queen shewed at his return filled him with a real satisfaction. He allowed, at the request of this princess, that ten or twelve thousand crowns should be expended on buildings at Monceaux, and sent me orders to that purpose. It is from these letters of his majesty that I collect all these circumstances. This order he repeated when the master-builder, who had undertaken the work, informed him, that he had been obliged, through want of money, to dismiss his men. I had given him an assignment upon a restitution of money to be paid by the nephew of Argouges, which he had not yet done, pretending, to gain time, that he owed nothing. The king sent me orders to press him for the payment, and to advance the master-builder the money out of other funds, without referring him to Fresne, who could not be forced to pay it. Being apprehensive that I should give credit to the reports which were made me of the queen's being disgusted, and that she sought a pretence for quarrelling with me, he, in another letter, for a proof of the contrary, related to me in what manner this princess had taken my part against M. and madame de Ventadour, who had made some complaints of me to their majesties.

One could not give Henry a more sensible pleasure, than by conforming one's self to that complaisance which he had for every one with whom he

* "I should be glad, says Henry IV. God had sent him a dozen sons; for it would be a great pity, that from so good a stem there should not be some offshoots." Mem. Hist. de France, ibid.

1608. lived in any degree of friendship or familiarity. I received from him a gracious acknowledgement for some services rendered to madame de Verneuil and madame de Moret, and for the methods I made use of to free him from Mademoiselle des Effarts. This young lady began to be extremely troublesome to him: she had the presumption to expect she should have the same ascendant over him as his other mistresses. At last, however, she seemed willing to retire into the abbey of Beaumont, and named certain conditions, upon which Zamet and La Varenne were often sent by Henry to confer with me. He gave himself the trouble to write to the president de Motteville, concerning the place of a *Maitre-des-Comptes* at Rouen, which the young lady requested for one of her friends; and to Montauban, to advance the money for the purchase. There was a necessity likewise for giving her a thousand crowns, and five hundred to the abbey of Beaumont, which she had chosen for her retreat*. Both these sums the king demanded of me, in a letter dated the 12th of May: happy indeed, to get rid of her at so easy a rate!

He likewise desired my advice, as to the manner in which he should behave to avoid a quarrel with the queen, on an occasion when Conchini became a competitor with madame de Verneuil, for a favour which that lady had obtained a promise for two years before. "I love," said he in his letter, "Madame de Verneuil better than Conchini." Which indeed was not to be doubted: but at that time he was obliged to act with great circumspection towards the queen. This gave rise to an intrigue at court, that afforded great pleasure to several persons, which I cannot better explain than by the following letter the king writ me from Fontainebleau:

"Although I have parted with madame de Verneuil upon very bad terms, yet I cannot help

* She did not retire thither; or, at least, if she did, she did not stay long there.

"having

“ having some curiosity to know, if there be any
 “ foundation for the report which prevails here, 1608.
 “ that the prince of Joinville visits her: learn the
 “ truth of it, and give me notice in a letter, which
 “ I will burn, as you must do this. It is this that
 “ retains him so long, say they: you know well it
 “ is not for want of money.” The report was in-
 deed true: Joinville had suffered himself to be cap-
 tivated by the charms of the marchioness, who, as
 it was said, did not let him despair. For a long
 time, nothing was talked of but their intimacy, and
 the very passionate letters which it was pretended
 they writ to each other; and it was at last confi-
 dently reported, that he had offered to marry her:
 it must be observed, that all this I repeat after the
 court and Paris. Trifling as this affair may seem,
 there were in it some circumstances relating to
 the king, of such consequence as to make a pro-
 found secrecy necessary. If matters had really gone
 so far between the two lovers as people were willing
 to believe, madame de Verneuil, notwithstanding
 all her experience, was here the dupe: she was not
 sufficiently well acquainted with the disposition and
 conduct of a young man, still less amorous, than
 rash and heedless: promises, oaths, privacies, let-
 ters, all, in a very little time, ended in a rupture,
 which was equally imputed to both. However, to
 say the truth, the fault lay on madame de Villars*,
 who appeared too beautiful in the eyes of Joinville
 to leave his heart faithful to its first choice.

Madame de Villars did not at first appear so easy
 a conquest as her rival had been: proud of her alli-
 ance with the blood-royal, she treated him with dis-
 tance and reserve. Joinville, repulsed, and in de-
 spair, extorted from her a confession of the cause of
 her rigour. She told him, that after the correspon-
 dence he had, and still continued to carry on, with a
 lady so beautiful and witty as madame de Verneuil,

* Juliet-Hyppolita d'Estrées, wife of George de Brancas, marquis of Villars.

1608. it would be dangerous to rely on his fidelity. Joinville defended himself; it is not necessary to say in what terms. She refuted him, by alledging their interviews, and letters; one in particular from madame de Verneuil, more tender and passionate than the rest. On such an occasion, it is a custom to make, to the beloved lady, a sacrifice of her letters who was abandoned. Joinville resisted as long as he was able; but, at last, put into the hands of madame de Villars that pretended letter: (I say pretended, because it was far from being certain that this letter, which he was prevailed upon with so much difficulty to shew, ever came from madame de Verneuil). But be that as it will; for the use madame de Villars intended to make of this letter, it was indifferent to her whether it was forged or not.

This woman had an inveterate hatred to the marchioness of Verneuil: the moment she had the letter in her possession, she flew with it to the king. It was not difficult, with such a proof, to force belief; and she made such an artful use of it, that this prince, hitherto ignorant, or willing to seem so, of the greatest part of the intrigue, came instantly to me, with a heart filled with grief and rage, and related to me I know not how many circumstances, which to him appeared as certain proofs of her guilt; though I thought them far from being convincing. I told him, for it was necessary to treat this affair methodically, that he ought to hear what madame de Verneuil could say for herself, before he condemned her. "Oh! heavens, hear her, cried Henry; she has such power of expression, that if I listen to her, she will persuade me I am to blame, and that she is injured: yet I will speak to her, and shew her these proofs of her perfidy." In effect, he went away breathing nothing but vengeance. Joinville's intrigues with the governor of Franche Comté seemed to him not half so criminal.

The marchioness of Verneuil, long accustomed to these sort of transports, was not much alarmed; and main-

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maintained to the king, that Joinville had been wicked enough to forge this letter. Henry, softened by a circumstance which had not entered into his head before, became almost entirely satisfied, when she proposed to him to submit it to my judgment, whether the hand-writing was her's or not, sensible that no collusion could be suspected between us; she not having an excess of confidence in me, nor I too much esteem for her. Accordingly the papers were put into my hands, and a day fixed for the decision of this cause, which was to be determined at the house of the marchioness. I went thither in the morning, and was introduced into her closet, where she waited both for her accuser and her judge; in an undress that expressed great negligence.

I had already begun to question her, when Henry came in with Montbazou: I am not permitted to relate the rest; for the king would not suffer any of those that came with him to be present at this conference: however, they heard us talk very loud, and the marchioness weep. The king went from her apartment into another, and desiring all that were there to withdraw, took me to one of the most distant windows to examine the papers with him more exactly. This was not done so calmly, but those that were without might hear us discourse with great heat; and that I went often backwards and forwards, between the lady's closet and the place where the king stood. The conclusion of this scene was, that the king went away entirely satisfied with his mistress*. As for Joinville, whatever part he had

* In the *Memoires of Bassompierre*, Vol. I. p. 92. I find the following account of this intrigue: "A few days afterwards happened the difference between madam de Verneuil and the king, which had its origin from madam de Villars having shewn the king some letters which madam de Verneuil had wrote to the prince of Joinville, and which he had

given her. The affair was accommodated by the duke of E-guillon's bringing to the king a clerk of Bigot, who confessed that he had forged those letters; and the prince of Joinville was banished." Our memoirs mention this to have happened this year; but it was in the year 1603, upon the return of Henry IV. from his journey to Metz.

1608, acted, it was happy for him that it was Henry with whom he had to do; and the more so, as he engaged, almost immediately afterwards, in another intrigue of the same nature with madame de Moret*, which I was not acquainted with.

The count of Sommerive† was likewise hardy enough to become the rival of his master, and to make the countess of Moret the object of his gallantries, with whom he began by a proposal of marriage; and it was believed, that he had given her a promise in writing: for to a young man transported with passion, the one costs as little as the other. The king, when he was informed of it, approved of the match, and employed La Borde, a gentleman whom he knew to be more faithfully devoted to him than any of those that resorted to the countess's

* The Memoirs for the history of France gives this account of it; "The prince of Joinville having made his addresses to one of the king's favourites, who was one of those whom Tertullian calls *Publicarum libidinum victime*; she, to excuse herself, alledged the prince had given her a promise of marriage. He thereby incurred the king's displeasure, who commanded him either to banish himself, or marry the lady. At first, he put on the appearance of being willing to marry her, and to go on with what he had begun: but at last he declared, that he had never any such intention; and said aloud, That, the king only excepted, if any gentleman, or any one of whatever quality, had given him such language, he would have set both his feet on his neck. The count de Lude hearing of this, said it was the sentiment of a hangman. Madame de Guise, in tears, came and threw herself at the king's feet, and, as if she were in the extremest despair, begged of his majesty to kill her. To which the king answered, I have

"never killed any ladies, and I do not know how to go about it. Those, adds he, who were esteemed to be the most knowing at court, gave out it was the king himself who had induced the countess to do what she did."

"I gave notice, says Bassompierre in his Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 205, to the prince of Joinville, and madam de Moret, of the design the king had to surprise them together. They were not found together; but the king discovered enough to forbid Mon. de Chevreuse, the name the prince of Joinville then bore, the court; and would have done the same by her, had she not been on the point of being brought to bed: but time made up this difference." Henry gave orders to take the prince of Joinville into custody; but he escaped out of the kingdom, and did not return till after the death of Henry IV. his family having never been able to prevail on the king to recal him. *Galanteries des Rois de France.*

† Charles-Emanuel de Lorrain, second son of the duke of Maënné.

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house, to discover if they were sincere on both sides, and to take care to prevent the youth from transgressing the bounds of his duty. La Borde's report was not very favourable to the count of Sommerive, who, at first, had some thoughts of murdering this troublesome Argus; and meeting him one day as he was coming from church, he fell upon him so furiously, that La Borde, to save his life, was obliged to have recourse to flight. The king commanded me to examine into this fact, which, in his fury, he called an assassination. The time Sommerive had chosen for it, and the disrespect it shewed for the king, rendered him still more guilty.

However, it being necessary to observe some caution, tho' it were only in consideration of La-Borde; for the king was sensible, that Sommerive was a far more dangerous person to deal with than Joinville; La Varenne came to me from his majesty, to consult upon proper measures for managing this affair, without wounding his own authority; and we agreed, that the best expedient was, to prevail upon the duke of Maïenne himself to do the king justice, with regard to the offence his son had committed against him: I was charged with this message, and the conduct of it left wholly to my judgment. I found the duke of Maïenne so ill with a fit of the gout, which was attended with a high fever, that there was no possibility of speaking to him, especially upon such a subject. The duke of Eguillon *, Sommerive's eldest brother, told me, that this action of his brother was not more deeply resented by any person than by his own family; that it had been the cause of his father's illness; and wished himself dead, as well as this unworthy brother, rather than to become the reproach of their relations. He added, that the king himself knew but too well how Sommerive treated them all, tho', for the honour of the fami-

* Henry de Lorraine, duke of Eguillon, and afterwards of Maïenne.

ly,

1608. ly, they concealed his behaviour from the public : that this last offence gave them inconceivable affliction. And after entreating me to assist him with my advice, he declared that he would go himself, if his majesty required it, to receive his orders, and would execute them, whatever they were, upon his own brother: and that, for himself, he would rather lose his life than fail in the oath he had taken, to obey his master with all the fidelity and zeal of a servant and subject.

To conceal from D'Eguillon that I had been commissioned by the king to come thither, I told him, that I would not advise him to go to his majesty, because I did not know whether he was yet informed of the affair; but that, in twenty-four hours, I would give him such advice as I thought most for his interest (for so long it required to send to Fontainebleau to know his majesty's intentions). I, therefore, contented myself, at present, with representing to him the atrociousness of Sommerive's crime, and the fatal consequences that might attend it. He exclaimed against it himself, with a sincerity which I thought it my duty to represent to his majesty, telling him, at the same time, that he had only to pronounce what satisfaction he required, the family fearing nothing so much as the loss of his favour.

Henry sent me notice, by Villeroi, that he was satisfied with what D'Eguillon had said to me, although he was convinced that all this rage against Sommerive would not hinder them carrying it with a high hand in public, as they had already done upon other occasions of the same kind: he ordered me to make the whole house of Lorraine sensible how greatly they were indebted to his indulgence, in referring to them the chastisement of Sommerive; that he expected they would immediately oblige him to retire, tho' it were only to Soissons, as being unworthy to stay in a place where his majesty was; that D'Eguillon should come and tell him what resolution

tion they had taken, in the mean while, till he should himself name the punishment; offer to be security for Sommerive's appearance, and even conduct him to the Bastile, if such was the king's pleasure; or make him leave the kingdom, and not return till after the expiration of two or three years. Henry insinuated, that it was this last part he should take, although it required some consideration on account of Sommerive's intrigues with Spain. The king had been told, that this young nobleman had endeavoured to prevail upon the count of St. Paul to go with him to Holland, with an intention to enter into the service of the archdukes; that he had taken the advice of Du Terrail, and, as soon as the fact was committed, had sent some of his servants to Flanders. It was neither to that country, nor to any other dependant upon the Spaniards, which his majesty chose he should retire to; but towards Nancy, from whence he might pass to the Emperor's court, or into Hungary; that country being most agreeable to his majesty.

To this letter of Villeroi's was added a short billet, addressed to me, by the king, and contained only these few words: "I must tell you, that the best of the whole race is worth but little: God grant I may be mistaken." However he was not displeased with D'Eguillon's behaviour, when he waited on him at Fontainebleau: his majesty only thought that he shewed some little affectation in endeavouring to extenuate his brother's offence. The king told him, that it was his will Sommerive should retire to Lorraine, and not stir from thence without his permission. I was commissioned to notify this order to the duke of Maïenne, his majesty being willing, at the entreaties of D'Eguillon, to spare him the ungrateful task.

D'Eguillon did not make a proper application of the lessons the king gave him in relation to his brother. No one was ignorant of the affection his
ma-

1608. majesty had for Balagny*: he had lately given a proof of it, by maintaining him in the possession of the *greffes* of Bordeaux, of which the contractors endeavoured to deprive him. D'Eguillon had the imprudence to quarrel with him upon some affairs of gallantry indeed, and the baseness, some time after, to attack him when he was almost alone, while himself was accompanied with a body of armed men. The prejudice Henry already had to this family increased the indignation he felt for this attempt. In the first emotions of his anger, he writ to me, that being resolved to punish D'Eguillon for it, he earnestly entreated me to forget the friendship I had hitherto had for this family, since I ought to set a much higher value upon that of my king. This letter afforded me a proof of this prince's great knowledge of mankind: he predicted to me, that all the obligations I should confer on D'Eguillon would be forgot, if, through any change of my fortune, I should be incapable of adding to them: and this prediction has been fully accomplished.

However, I was then persuaded of the contrary, and listening only to what my friendship for the whole house of Lorraine suggested to me, the king's letter, which his courier, meeting me at my return from Sully, delivered to me at Montargis, did not hinder me from answering his majesty immediately, and that only to do the very thing he had forbid me, which was the soliciting a pardon for D'Eguillon, without deferring it till I went to court, which I proposed to do immediately afterwards. My letter was not unuseful to D'Eguillon, when he presented himself to his majesty to clear himself of the charge. This is what the king himself writ me, May 22d: "Your letter came very seasonably;

* Damien de Montluc, lord of Balagny, son of John prince of Cambray, and of Renée de Clermont de Buffly d'Amboise: he was, at that time, only 25 or 26 years old, and unmarried,

" for

“ for he arrived this night, and talked to me in
 “ such a manner, that I was scarce able to restrain 1608.
 “ my anger. Certainly this youth grows very in-
 “ solent.” I did not however abandon his interest.
 When I went to Fontainebleau, I found the king’s
 resentment so violent, that there was a necessity for
 all the perseverance the warmest friendship is capa-
 ble of to vanquish it. I obtained, at length, that
 this affair should be left to me, to make up in the
 best manner I could. I surmounted, with the same
 steadiness of friendship, many other difficulties,
 which were not inferior to this; and believed that
 all was forgotten on both sides, congratulating my-
 self upon my success, when I heard in what manner
 D’Eguillon talked of this good office in public, and
 the gratitude he expressed to me for it.

Yet this man, without faith and without huma-
 nity, dishonoured himself and me, a short time
 afterwards, by completing the crime, which I had
 so lately obtained his pardon for attempting, and
 procured Balagny to be assassinated. The letter his
 majesty writ to me upon it, will give the reader the
 truest notion of this crime. “ My friend, you
 “ have doubtless heard of the wicked action com-
 “ mitted upon Balagny: I would not write you an
 “ account of it, till I had heard all the informa-
 “ tions; for, on such occasions, the parties are not
 “ to be believed. Things are worse than you can
 “ imagine: he has violated the promise he made
 “ to you, and irreparably wounded his honour,
 “ by the extreme cowardice and cruelty of falling
 “ upon a single man with numbers. I had rather
 “ a son of mine were dead, than that he should be
 “ guilty of such an action. The bearer will tell
 “ you the particulars. The relations of both have
 “ attempted to fight; but I have taken care to pre-
 “ vent it. Adieu. I love you sincerely, and with
 “ this truth I conclude.”

But Henry (for I felt too much horror at this
 indignity to dwell on it any longer) was himself in
 fact

1608. fact to blame, since it was through his easiness of temper, that the rage of duelling had spread through the court, the city, and over the whole kingdom*; and to such excess was it carried, that it gave me, and even his majesty himself, infinite fatigue and trouble, to compose differences, and to hinder, each day, the disputants from proceeding to the last extremities. Before the affair of Balagny happened, the baron de Courtaumer came to tell me, that he was busy in reconciling his two nephews, M. the prince of Conti, and the prince of Joinville. Montigny quarrelled, for no cause, with D'Epermon, whom I was ordered to pacify. "For you know," said Henry in his letter, "that he will always be the master." The forcibly carrying away of a young lady occasioned a combat between the families of La-Force and St. Germain. St. Germain, the son, who was the ravisher, being sent for by the chancellor, in the king's name, left Paris, instead of obeying, and went to his father, which made his majesty apprehensive that he would divulge, amongst foreigners, some important orders which he could not be ignorant that he had given to La-Force.

This easiness of temper in the king was the true cause of that licentiousness and sedition which had infected the court and the kingdom, and which his majesty so deeply lamented: the gentry had taken it from the nobility, and the nobility from the princes of the blood. The count of Soissons publicly shewed his discontent. The prince of Condé, by indiscreet sallies, some indeed only worthy of laughter, and others of consequence enough to give great cause of uneasiness to his majesty, almost exhausted his patience. It was believed, that marriage would cure his impetuosity and wildness.

* Leomenie computed, in 1607, how many French gentlemen had been killed in duels, since Henry IV. came to the crown. The number was found to be full 4000. *Mem. Hist. de Fr. ibid.*

and

and Mademoiselle de Montmorency* was the wife the king chose for him. It was this marriage that completed Henry's domestic troubles, as we shall see in the following year. 1608.

The difficulties that arose, concerning the marriage of Mademoiselle de Mercœur, increased his dislike of the whole house of Lorraine. She had been contracted to M. de Vendôme, in the year 1598, when the king took a journey to Brittany. The parties were now of age to consummate the marriage; but the mother, and grand-mother of the young lady, had taken care to inspire her with such an aversion for M. de Vendôme, that she would not suffer him to speak to her. The prince of Condé, who was not then married, would have been a more agreeable match, in all their opinions; but, since that could not take place, the duchess was unwilling to let her daughter's large estates go out of the family. The king could not help thinking, that the dukes of Guise and Maienne contributed to support this lady in her obstinate resistance to his will. I often combated this opinion, and represented to his majesty, that, on this occasion, he did not do them justice, which in the end he had reason to be convinced of, by the little opposition they made to his intentions, when they were declared to them by the marquis D'Oraison, whom they had sent to his majesty.

The readiest and the surest way for Henry to accomplish this marriage, was to have assumed his authority, and given them an absolute command to fulfil the contract: but this prince † had less inclination to take such measures on this occasion than

* Margaret Charlotte of Montmorency.

† Henry, in his anger, threatened the duchess de Mercœur to make her pay two hundred thousand crowns for damages, besides the penalty of a hundred thousand for breach of covenant. The

duchess, on her part, caused the king to be told, that he might not only take the hundred thousand crowns, but all her estates besides, if he was entitled to them. Her daughter retired to a nunnery of capuchins, with intent to take the veil. Mem. Hist. de Fr. *ibid.*

1608. on any other. It only remained then, either to endeavour, by gentleness and persuasion, to prevail upon the ladies, or to have recourse to the decision of the law, which must undoubtedly have been in his favour; were his majesty to be treated with the same impartiality as any private man: but this was to draw it out into length, by the delays and tricks of the courts of justice. It would take up a considerable time to bring up only the letters of attorney from Lorrain, without which the proceedings could not be begun; and it would be two months before the affair could be terminated, although his majesty should interpose his authority, to oblige them to dispense with the accustomed formalities in his favour. However, gentle methods were far more eligible, since not only the union of two persons, but that of several families, were concerned in it. There still remained many resources for a young woman forced from her relations, and obliged to marry, in spite of herself, to regain her liberty, although all the ceremonies were performed that should seem to have deprived her of it, especially if she could not be prevented from privately receiving bad counsels. For these reasons, therefore, I advised his majesty to try gentle methods, in the long letter I sent him in answer to his.

For this purpose many conferences were held at the houses of the two duchesses, at that of the duchess of Guise, aunt to the young lady, and at the princess of Conti's, during which time M. de Vendome was kept at a distance, his majesty having sent him under the conduct of La-Vallee into Brittany. As for me, I thought no person better qualified to manage this negotiation than father Cotton. I advised the king to employ him, and he succeeded so well, that at the time when the king was most fully persuaded he should never terminate this affair, but by the ordinary course of law, and had already writ to the first president on this subject, this father, on a sudden, gave him hopes that it would

would be concluded by other means. The art of directing consciences, in which he excelled, gave him up immediately the first point, and not the least essential. They began to cease their invectives, which only nourished hatred and disgust. Father Cotton did not fail to go as often as he could to the king, to give him an account of the progress he had made; and his majesty, from time to time, sent him to the chancellor and me to take our advice, and was highly pleased with the service he did him upon this occasion.

The mother and the daughter were the first that were prevailed upon; but not without the duchess's giving such free scope to her resentment against the king, her relations, and all the world, that Henry believed he should never find a favourable moment to obtain her consent, but exhorted me, if such a one ever offered, not to let it escape. The grandmother, and some other confidants of the duchess's, as La-Porte the confessor, continued a long time obstinate: but, at length, all were appeased, and the marriage was celebrated*. The king was not quite freed from his suspicion, that the Guises, and all the princes of the house of Lorraine, sought, in reality, to deceive him, under an appearance of the greatest respect and deference; for which reason, when the post of first president of the chamber of accounts in Provence became vacant by the death of Beauville, and the duke of Guise solicited it for one of his friends, as likewise the countess of Sault for one of hers, he denied them both. "They have both been supporters of the League," said he; and this was all the reason he gave me for it, when he writ to me to consult with the chancellor about filling up this place with one more fit for it.

* The 7th of July in the year following. "The nuptials," says the *Memoirs de l'Hist. de France*, "were splendid and magnificent:

"the king shone all over with jewels of an inestimable value; he ran at the ring, and seldom failed of carrying the prize."

1608.

Not all the arguments I used to the king, could prevent him from giving, if I may use the expression, a right to every one to disturb his quiet, by continually bringing him informations against the most illustrious persons in the kingdom, as well catholics as protestants. Sometimes he was told, that the Duke of Bouillon, Du-Plessis, and other heads of the reformed religion, were levying troops; sometimes that it was agreed upon between them, M. the prince, M. the count, and even all those that had been the greatest supporters of the League against them, to take possession of several towns. Another time, it was said, that the duke of Roan-nais held assemblies in Anjou, which Pont-Cour-lai writ also to me: but nothing so much alarmed his majesty as the advice he received from a gentleman of Poitou; for this province was always made the seat of rebellion. This man said, that he had been present at assemblies of a great number of gentlemen, who acted in the names of almost all the grandees of the kingdom, besides the protestants, in which he was a witness, that they had fixed upon a day for seizing a great number of towns which he named, and had delivered out money for the making provision of scaling-ladders, petards, arms, and ammunition, necessary for the enterprise.

The king was at Fontainebleau without any train, and only with a design to make some parties for hunting, when this informer was presented to him: he sent him back to Paris, with orders to wait on Sillery and Villeroi, to whom he gave such exact memorials, that the king was no longer in doubt of the truth of his report, and, full of apprehensions, returned instantly to Paris through Melun, and entered the city at the gate St. Antoine. He sent St. Michael immediately for me, having matters, he said, of the utmost consequence to communicate to me. My wife and my children

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being then in the city with all the coaches of the house, I was obliged to wait till one was sent me by Phelipeaux. 1608.

I found the king shut up in the queen's little closet; with him were that princess, the chancellor, and Villeroi, busy in examining those papers which had heated the lively imagination of Henry. "Well, Monsieur Obstinacy," said he to me as I entered, "here is the war begun." So much the better, Sire, said I; for it can be only against the Spaniards. "No, no, answered he, it is against "much nearer neighbours, supported by all your "huguenots." All the huguenots! returned I; ah, Sire, what makes you imagine so? I will answer for many, that they do not entertain the least notion of it, and I am ready to answer for almost all the rest, that they dare not. "Did I not tell you, "my dear," said his majesty, turning to the queen, "that he would not believe this? according to "him, no one dare give me the least offence, and "it depends only upon myself to give law to all "the world." "It is true, Sire, I replied, and so "you may whenever you please."

Villeroi and Sillery attempted to support his majesty's opinion, that this was a most dangerous conspiracy. I represented to them, that it was great weakness to suffer themselves to be intimidated thus by mere trifles: I took the paper out of their hands, and could not help smiling when I found, that, of this formidable body of rebels, only ten or a dozen poor inconsiderable gentlemen and soldiers were mentioned, whose persons I knew, being, in reality, in my government; and five or six villages, as La-Haye in Touraine, St. John d'Angle, La-Rochepozai, St. Savin, and Chauvigny-le-Blanc in Berry. *Pardieu*, Sire, resumed I with some emotion, these gentlemen mean to jest both with your majesty and me, by making these idle reports of consequence enough to affect you with any apprehensions, and inducing you to take measures to prevent

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what

1608. what will never happen. The whole mystery is this: one of your subjects has an inclination to get an hundred crowns from you.

“Notwithstanding all you can say, replied the king, I am convinced that there is a necessity for my going thither, or else that you should set out in two days, and give proper orders there for keeping every thing quiet.” If you would consent, Sire, replied I, after listening patiently to a long detail he made me of the artillery, ammunition, and other warlike stores necessary for this expedition, to let me manage it my own way, I will engage to bring this affair to a conclusion, without much trouble or expence. “*Pardieu*, said Henry, “you are the most obstinate man I ever saw; well, “what would you say?” Sire, answered I, I only desire you will give me Moret the prévôt, and twenty archers, and I will bring you a good account of these rebels. “You will have it so,” said Henry; vanquished by my perseverance; “but if any accident should happen; you will have all the blame.” However, the king’s fears were wholly groundless. My whole army consisted of twenty horse, with which I seized all those persons that had been accused, very few of whom were punished, his majesty finding most of them innocent, and that the others were not worth troubling himself with.

The assembly of protestants, which it was necessary should be held this year, for appointing the two deputies-general, seemed to the king to merit still more attention, on account of the present situation of affairs. He ordered me to assist at it for the third time; and that I might do so with the greater conveniency, the assembly was summoned to meet at Gergeau, of which I was governor, and where I could direct every thing from my estate of Sully; which extended to the gates of that city. I shall be silent as to the article of my instructions. On the 3d of October, when I wrote for the first time

time to Villeroy, the assembly had not yet taken 1698.
 any form, although the members had met some days before; for they still expected some of the provincial deputies. When I found, that, by one single word, I had put all the disaffected to silence, I took upon myself to answer for it to his majesty, that nothing would be done in it contrary to his will; which, however, he could not be persuaded to believe. All the letters I received from the king and Villeroy were filled with complaints of the protestants. "Send back my courier immediately," said the king in one of his letters; "there are people at Gergeau with whom there is no dealing: they have treated you like a catholic; I knew they would do so: and four days ago, I saw a letter from Saumur which prescribed the manner."

It is certain, that there was, at first, some tumult in the assembly, and upon this account in particular, that his majesty had sent two catholic governors into the cities of Montendre and Tartas, which they alledged had been yielded to them by the king. They supported their demands by the tenor of the edicts, and complained that Caumont had been taken from them in the same manner; Chambaut, Du-Bourg, and Du-Ferrier, were sent, by the assembly, to me at Sully, with messages full of submission to his majesty, to whom they had likewise resolved to depute two or three of their body upon the same subject. As I knew his majesty would not receive this deputation favourably, I endeavoured to dissuade them from that design: I represented to them, that I had no commission from the king to treat upon this article; but that I would write about it to him. I excused myself from having any thing to do with regard to Moncenis, a place upon which they had the same pretensions as the two former, because it belonged to M. the count:

1608. I writ to Villeroi what the assembly had proposed, charging him to represent to the king, that, if he was willing this affair should not be protracted, it would be necessary to satisfy such of their demands as were just, or promise, at least, to do so, when he should return an answer to them: to which his majesty consented. This article dispatched, which was one of the eight proposed by the assembly, I told them, that, of those that remained, five were to be brought before the council, as falling under the cognisance of that tribunal; and that they ought now to settle the principal affair, which was the appointing the two deputies. His majesty notified his intentions to them on this subject, which were conformable to what he had declared to them before, as has been seen when I treated of the general assembly held at Châtelleraut: and this affair was likewise concluded to the entire satisfaction of both parties, by means of a proposal I made to the king to appoint Villarnou to be deputy for the nobility, and Mirande for those of the second order. The former would have been chosen the preceding year, if he had not been proposed in a manner contrary to the form prescribed by the king. He went immediately to receive his orders, bearing a letter from me to the king, who summed up to him, in a few words, the duties of his office, and seemed very well satisfied with his choice.

The assembly, after this, continued no longer than was necessary to receive the brevet of the deputies acceptance, and all was over before the first of November. His majesty, in every letter he writ to me, recommended to me, in particular, to be speedy in settling this business; to return to him as soon as possible, and always concluded with his usual expressions of kindness. The last courier that I dispatched to him found him at the Arsenal, from whence, as Villeroi informed me in his letter, he returned at seven in the evening, making him

him write to me at eight, not being willing to do it himself for fear of keeping the courier too long. 1608.

When I returned, I gave his majesty a more exact account than I had done in my letters, of all that has passed at Gergeau, and of the pacific dispositions in which I had found a great number of the best and most considerable persons of the protestant body. His majesty was then at Fontainebleau, where he staid as long this year as any of the former ones: he had returned thither the middle of May, after that short journey to Paris which I have mentioned, and staid there all June and July; in August he went back to Paris, from whence he went to St. Germain, and afterwards to Monceaux, where he staid fifteen days; and, passing through Fontainebleau, came to Paris the beginning of October, while I was still at Gergeau; in the middle of October he went again to Fontainebleau, where he staid all the remainder of that month, and part of November, and then returned to dispatch his affairs. I have already observed, that this manner of living was only fatiguing to himself, and a few of his principal ministers.

He was not this year afflicted with any dangerous distemper. In a letter he writ to me from Fontainebleau, dated June 2d, he says, "I have had a fever, which has lasted two days and a night, but it only proceeds from a cold, which, by the help of God, I hope will not have any bad consequences. I am resolved to take more care of my health than I have done hitherto: this you may depend upon, as also upon the assurance I gave you of my affection for you." Yet he still continued the fatigue of the chace. From St. Germain he writ to me, that he had taken a stag in an hour: that he went afterwards to bed, where he lay another hour, and then went to walk in his gardens, and to visit his manufacturers. Henry, while this cold in his head continued, wet eight or ten handkerchiefs in a day; he had, at

1608. the same time, a defluxion in his ears and throat, which was very troublesome to him. And afterwards preparing himself, by purges, to drink the waters of Spa, he was seized with a looseness from which he suffered violent pains for two days, and which left a weakness upon him for a considerable time afterwards. This was a disorder that prevailed not only over all that district, from whence his majesty writ to me, that he had with him the good man Villeroy, and above a hundred gentlemen of his court, who were afflicted with it, but likewise in Paris, and all the neighbouring parts.

Almost all the children of his majesty were sick during the month of May. In his letter to me, in which he sent me an account of it, his paternal tenderness made him enter into the smallest circumstances relating to the state of their health, none of which, indeed, were indifferent to me. In his letter he sent me from Fontainebleau, dated May the 16th, he says, "I am in great affliction, having all
" my children ill here: my daughter de Verneuil
" has got the measles; my son, the Dauphin, vomited twice yesterday; he has a slight fever, attended with a drowsiness, and a sore throat:
" from these symptoms, the physicians think he
" likewise will have the measles. Last night, my
" daughter began to have a little fever: my son
" d'Orleans has a continued one; but it is more
" violent one day than another." This prince's illness was most dangerous, and lasted longer than any of the other. "Judge, continued he, whether, with all this, I must not suffer great uneasiness. I will every day give you an account of
" my children's health." Happily they all recovered. "Whatever it shall please God to do with
" them," said this prince to me, "I will submit patiently to his will: all the dispensations of his providence are good." He enquired, with his usual goodness, how my son did, who, he had been told, had the small-pox. He chose Noisy for the place of his
child-

children's residence during the summer, and would not suffer them to be removed to St. Germain till November, at which time he sent me orders, as usual, to have them carried thither, with Madame de Monglat, in the coaches and and litters of the queen Margaret; ordering me to tell Madame de Verneuil to send hers thither likewise, the small-pox then raging at Paris. 1608.

The son of this lady, who was called the marquis de Verneuil *, was by the king his father, designed for the church; and the bishopric of Metz becoming vacant, he had some thoughts of giving it him; but the procuring this prince to be nominated, the illegitimacy of his birth, and his youth, for he was yet but a child, were three obstacles to his advancement to this see. It was in the power of the chapter of Metz to remove the first, by admitting the young prince as a candidate; or, if that was too difficult to be granted, to appoint the cardinal of Guise either to be bishop or administrator, because, from his hands, it might afterwards easily pass into those of the young De Verneuil. This chapter having both a right to chuse themselves a bishop, in case of a vacancy, by resignation, or death, and of giving the administration of the revenues of the bishopric to any person they pleased, there was no necessity for using many persuasions with them; for, as soon as they perceived that it would please the king to have his son appointed, he was admitted and chosen unanimously.

But it was the Pope alone who could grant the necessary dispensation on the other two articles, the birth and age of the young prince. His majesty,

* Henry de Bourbon, Marquis, or, according to others, duke of Verneuil, afterwards bishop of Metz. If Paul V. shewed himself so difficult on account of the bishopric of Metz, Innocent X. shewed himself much more so: for he positively refused to give the

purple to this prince. He enjoyed more than four hundred thousand livres a year in benefices, when he gave them all up in 1668, to marry Charlotte Seguyer, widow of Maximilian Francis, third duke of Sully. He died in 1682.

1608. to prevail upon him to grant this favour, sent the duke of Nevers to Rome*. Valerio, the courier from Rome, was received in a most obliging manner at Paris, and retained there till the end of March. The marchioness of Verneuil neglected nothing to secure the success of this affair. However, all that could be obtained from the Pope, was a dispensation for the birth. He refused the second request, as being absolutely contrary to the canons and discipline of the church; but, by the force of entreaties and solicitations, they drew from him, at length, that kind of approbation, which, in the Roman style, is called *expectative*, and that the young prince might bear, at present, the title of bishop of Metz. Valerio brought the news to Fontainebleau the latter end of April, and, by the king's command, I acquainted Madame de Verneuil with it immediately.

The little complaisance, which Paul V. on this occasion, shewed his majesty, was well repaid by him, when, at that pontiff's request, the cardinals and prelates of France renewed their solicitations to Henry, that the decrees of the council of Trent might be published in the kingdom: the king, without suffering himself to be moved by their repeated attempts on this head, replied that since they could not get this council approved by Francis I. Henry II. and Charles IX. although they had not the same obligations to the protestants as he had, nor had granted them such favourable edicts as he had done, they must not expect that he would ever give his consent to it. He shewed them the mischief such a grant was capable of doing in the kingdom, and declared, that he had no inclination to establish the inquisition in France; and that he thought it very surprising, for he was aware of that objection, that such a strange clause should be made

* The Memoirs of those times take notice of the magnificent entry and reception of the duke at Rome.

one of the conditions of his absolution. All therefore that they could obtain from his majesty was, 1608.
that the *mass* should be permitted in Bearn*.

This year the Roman college lost the cardinals de Lorrain and Baronius. The duke of Florence and the famous Scaliger died also about the same time: and, in France, the chancellor de Belevre, father Ange de Joyeuse, and Miron†.

* The exercise of the catholic religion had been re-established at Bearn, ever since the time of the edict of Nantes. There is therefore a mistake here in these Memoirs; and, instead of the *mass*, it should be read the *jesuits*; those fathers being established there this year, by the king's edict of the 16th of February. They were obliged for this to the solicitations of the bishop of Oleron. Nic. Rigault, Book i. Merç. Fr. 1608, &c.

† Francis Miron, master of requests, superintendant of the government of the isle of France, president of the great council, provost of Paris, and lieutenant-civil within the provostship thereof, &c. died in the month of June, this year, extremely regretted on account of his probity, and other good qualities. His party esteemed him so much for the steadiness with which he had opposed the superintendant on occasion of the order of council which had been made the year before for the suppression of the annuities of the Hotel de Ville, and of the bold remonstrances he made to the king on that behalf, that they got together in a body, and came, in a seditious manner, to defend his house against the threatenings of the council. Péréfixe, from whom I have this fact, agrees, that the enquiry into the case of the annuities was in itself most just; and yet blames the authors of it: "Be-
cause, says he, the greatest part
of those annuities having passed

" through several hands, or been
" divided, many families must be
" put to great trouble by it. Mi-
" ron, adds he, earnestly request-
" ed the citizens to retire, and
" not to make him criminal; as-
" suring them they had nothing
" to fear: that they had to do
" with a king as great as wife, as
" gentle as equitable; and who
" would not suffer himself to be
" influenced by the advice of evil
" counsellors."

For my part, I do not so much admire this gentleman, who, notwithstanding his probity, suffered himself to be so far transported with passion, as to make some odious comparisons, " Not indeed, says the same writer, with the king's person, but with some of his council;" as I do the king himself, who resisting the persuasion of those who would have prevailed on him to seize him by force, and severely to punish his boldness, " graciously received, continues M. de Péréfixe, the excuses and most humble submissions of Miron; and besides, forbid the prosecution of the enquiry into the annuities, which had made so much noise." I am surprized no notice is taken of any part of this transaction in the Memoirs.

But another action, which does real honour to M. de Sully (taken out of the Memoires pour l'Hist. de Fr.) was, his soliciting Henry IV. on behalf of the president Miron, brother of the deceased, who had resigned the office of lieu-

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1608.

Some new embellishments were made at Fontaine-bleau and Monceaux. The bridge Marchand * was built at Paris, in the place of that called the bridge Aux-Meuniers. I gave the king a design for La-Place Dauphine, by which, leaving the fund to be managed by the undertaker for his own advantage, it might be finished in three years. It was offered to the first president, and to the parliament. I also drew a plan for the bridge of Rouen; which my son presented to his majesty, for I was then upon the spot. Henry thought nothing could be better contrived for the conveniency of the ground. The bridge of Mante was finished this year. In Bourbonnois, I deposited several pieces of artillery, which procured me the thanks of that province by St. Géran.

These works of necessity, or of public utility, might have been carried much farther, if the king had been willing to follow the advice I gave him, to

tenant-civil to him, and afterwards of his son. The king saying to him, "I am surprized you should desire my favour for persons whom you formerly so much hated. And, Sire, replied Sully, I am more surprized to find you hate people you formerly so much loved, and who love you, and have done you good service." The queen, at the recommendation of Conchini, procured this office for Nicholas Le-Grai, the king's attorney of the Châtelet.

* "So called after the name of Charles Le-Marchand, captain of the arquebusers and archers of Paris, who undertook, with the king's permission, to build the said bridge at his own costs and expences, on certain conditions, which were granted to him, and amongst others, that it should bear his name." Journal de L'Etoile, *ibid*.

This bridge, which formerly was called Pont-aux-Colombes,

(the Pigeon-bridg) because pigeons were sold on it, had afterwards the name of Pont-aux-Meuniers, (the Millers bridge) because there was a mill under every arch. It had been broke down ever since the year 1596, by a flood, on the 22d of December, between five and six o'clock in the evening, crushing under its ruins upwards of five hundred persons, who were for the most part, as it was said, of the number of those who had enriched themselves at the massacre of St. Bartholomew; and it had, ever since, continued unrepaired. It was begun this year, and finished the next. It took fire twelve years after, being of wood, and was burnt down, together with another bridge, called Pont-au-Change, which was rebuilt with stone in 1639: and the two bridges were united in one, which, at present, is called Pont-au-Change. See the authors of the Antiquities and Descriptions of Paris.

sacrifice.

sacrifice some of his private expences to such laudable undertakings. The money he lost at play only, would have answered those purposes. I was ordered to pay Edward Fernandez *, a Portuguese, at one time thirty-four thousand pistoles which he had lost to him. This order is dated August 27. He often lent me others for two or three thousand pistoles †, and many more for sums less considerable. However it must be confessed, that this passion for play never hindered him from agreeing to every proposal in which the public good was concerned.

A dreadful devastation † was made by the Loire, in the month of October. In my journey from d'O-

* This Edward Fernandez is taken notice of in the *Mémoires* of Bassompierre, as being a rich Portuguese banker, who lent money to the courtiers for play, on pledges, and at large interest.

† "I do not know, says M. de Péréfixe, what answer to make to those who charge him with being fonder of cards and dice, than was becoming a great king; and that besides he played ill, being eager to win, timorous when large sums were depending, and out of temper when he lost." It requires no answer, I should tell this writer; for it must be owned, that it is a blot in the life of this great prince. How can one justify a passion for play, when pushed to the degree it was by Henry IV? What can be more pernicious in the master of a whole nation? What example can be worse? What can have a stronger tendency to the subversion of order, and the corruption of manners?

We find, on this subject, in the *Mémoires* for the history of France, a story as pleasant as it is pleasantly told. "M. de Créquy, afterwards duke of Lesdiguières and marshal of France, lost so much money, that one day, coming from the king's, in a manner out of his senses, he met M. de Guise, who was going to the castle, to whom he said: Friend, friend,

"where are the guards placed to-day? On which M. de Guise, stepping back two or three paces, Excuse me, Sir, says he, I am not of this country; and immediately went to the king, who laughed heartily at the story."

The marshal de Bassompierre says, that Pimentel, the foreigner mentioned in the beginning of this book, "won upwards of two hundred thousand crowns, which he carried off; and came back to France the following year, where he made another good harvest." It is reported, that the stratagem, he made use of to win so much, was to get into his hands all the dice which were in the shops at Paris, and substituting false dice, which he had got made, in the place of them. But what some people have said, that Henry IV. was informed of the cheat, and countenanced it, with design to impoverish his courtiers, and thereby to make them more submissive to him, ought to be looked upon as a mere stroke of satire. The duke of Epemon lost considerable sums, and all his jewels. The duke of Byron also lost, in one year, more than five hundred thousand crowns.

† This devastation lasted twenty-four hours, and came in an instant. Had not the banks broke down, the city of Tours must have been laid under water, and Blois ran a
livet

1608. livet to Orleans; I expected to have been involved in it. This whole passage was one continued sea, in which the boats swam over the tops of the trees and houses the water had yet left standing. However, no accident happened to myself; but the boat, which carried me, stuck in its return, and fell in two pieces, but fortunately all the passengers saved themselves by swimming. The desolation was extreme, and the damage infinite. In the petitions of the injured towns and villages, not only a total discharge of the Taille was demanded, but likewise a speedy and effectual succour, at least, for their most urgent necessities, without which most part of the lands must remain untilld, and the houses be deserted. "God," said Henry, in his answer to a letter I writ to him upon this terrible accident, "has given me subjects that I may preserve them as my children. Let them meet with tenderness and charity from my council. Alms are always highly acceptable to God; and in cases of public misery more especially so. It would lie heavy on my conscience, if I neglected to do every thing I

great risque. M. de Sully, who was then at Sully, with great difficulty saved himself: both he and his whole duchy were in great danger. Mem. hist. de Fr. ib.

According to Le Mercure François, this misfortune happened twice, in this year, in the Loire: once towards the end of winter, after a frost; the second time, in the beginning of summer, by the sudden melting of the snow on the mountains of Velai and Auvergne: it places none of those floods in the month of October, in which he is mistaken. "The loss, says he, of men, women, children, cattle, castles, mills, houses, and all sorts of goods, was inestimable. There was not a bridge on this river, which has a course of more than five hundred leagues,

"which had not some of its arches broke down. The force of the water made breaches in all the banks. The low grounds were covered with it quite to the skirts of the hills; the lands, which are very fruitful there, were for a long time overflowed, there being no vent for the water to run off; and became quite barren, being covered with sand and stones, which the water had brought from Auvergne."

This year was called the year of the hard winter, that season being unusually severe. "Henry IV. said, his beard froze in bed with the queen by him." He had some frozen bread given him on the 23d of January, which he would not suffer to be thawed. Matth. vol. II. book iii. p. 771.

‘can for their relief.” I seconded, with all my power, the king’s pious intentions. 1608.

In the same letter I obtained three little gratuities for different persons: the profits of a mill, at the gates of Paris, for one; the remainder of some trees, that had been cut down, for another; and the timber, which had served to repair the stone-bridge at Mante, for the third.

The merit and learning of messieurs Fenouillet and D’Abeins, so well known throughout the whole kingdom, encouraged me to request, for the first, the reversion of the bishopric of Poitiers; and, for the second, the first bishopric which should become vacant, both which were promised me. I set out immediately after for Sully; but I had scarce left his majesty, when news was brought him of the death of the bishop of Montpellier, which he instantly sent to inform me of. I was of opinion, that I should make some alteration in the favour I had obtained of the king. I therefore writ to him, that Montpellier being full of protestants, it seemed to me to require, that a man as eloquent as the abbe Fenouillet should be made bishop of it; and that the mild and moderate disposition of the abbe d’Abiens rendered him absolutely fit for the bishopric of Poitiers, that province having many hot and violent spirits in it that required tempering. Henry read my letter to the courtiers about him, and, smiling, asked them whether the catholics could have made a better disposition*? Fervaque was so dangerously ill, that I advised his majesty to think of disposing of

*Pérèfixe relates this fact something differently. “The bishopric of Poitiers being become vacant, Rosny earnestly recommended one Fenouillet to him, who was esteemed a man of learning, and a good preacher. The king notwithstanding this recommendation, gave it to the abbot of La Rocheposai, who also possessed many good qualities; and besides

“was the son of a father who had served equally well with his sword in the wars, and with his genius in embassies. Some time after, the bishopric of Montpellier became vacant, on which the king, of his own motion, sent for Fenouillet, and gave it to him; but on condition, that he should take it as an obligation to him alone.” Ibid. p. 312.

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1608. the very considerable posts he held in Normandy. But he soon destroyed our opinion of his danger, by writing, some days afterwards, that, if a commission was sent him to hold the States of that province, he found himself able to preside at the assembly.

The treaty of 1564, between France and Lorraine, daily suffered some new difficulties relating to the limits of the country of Meſſin, which determined the king to send commissioners upon the spot. These were chosen by the chancellor and I, out of the council and elsewhere. Another work, no less useful, and much more considerable, was to order a report to be given in, upon exact views, of all the encroachments made by our neighbours in different parts of the frontiers, and especially upon the confines of Champaign, with Franche Comté, and Lorraine. Chatillon, the engineer, to whom I committed this task, executed it with the utmost exactness. He made it clear, that the king of Spain, and the duke of Lorraine, had unjustly appropriated to themselves a great number of fiefs, and even whole villages, as the village of Pierre-court, the town of Passeran, the lordship of Commercy, and many others, which it would be too tedious to enumerate here*.

This work was but a small part of what, by his majesty's orders, I had undertaken. The most exact plans of all the coasts and frontiers of France were to be drawn. The duke of Maienne and the inhabitants of Antibes having put to sale the lands they had in the neighbourhood of that city, the king was desirous of purchasing them, which, when known, was sufficient to make them set such a price upon those lands as disgusted his majesty, who ordered them to be told, that they might sell their land to whomsoever they pleased, but that he would put a governor into Antibes, who might probably make them repent of their injustice to himself.

* They may be seen in the old Memoirs of Sully, vol. V. p. 222.

Let

Let us now come to the finances. There was a ^{1608.} new regulation made, directed to the treasurers of the exchequer, of the private expences, of the posts, of the Swiss League, of the ordnance, of the extraordinary of the wars, and the extraordinary on this side the mountains, and the rest, which prescribed them still a more exact method for giving in their accounts, and placed them in the lowest dependance on their superintendant, without a precept from whom they had scarce the power of doing any thing. This regulation * was extended, likewise, even to the registers and the secretary of the council. I put in the same subjection those who acted under me in every other business: I obliged Lichani, under whose direction the streets of Paris were paving, to come every Wednesday and Saturday noon, to give me an account of the payment and employment of his workmen.

By a circular letter sent to all the managers of the finances, I forbid them to place any more, in their accounts, such articles as had been once rejected, or reduced by the council, leaving no means to recover them but that of petition; and that they might not plead want of rules, I sent them forms drawn up with clearness and exactness. They were obliged even to quote the date, and the signatures of the patents and edicts of council that were there mentioned. The regulation of the fees of the chamber of accounts, and another, concerning the money embezzled by the treasurers of France, and the receivers-general, was joined to the former. This new scheme brought the king, at present, a hundred thousand crowns profit, which would be doubled, when it came to be perfectly observed. The chamber of accounts did not part with its fees but with a great deal of trouble, not even when it was made appear upon how false a supposition they had been established. I was obliged even to get a formal or-

* See this regulation in the old Memoirs, vol. III. p. 194.

1608. der, from his majesty, to obtain from them a delivery of the registers, for which I had occasion. I had a great deal of trouble with the procurer-general, and the presidents of that chamber, to make them verify an edict with respect to those who paid their rents, and for the extinction of forty-eight thousand livres of rents settled by composition.

I declared to the sovereign courts, and the office of finances of Languedoc, the resolution of the king upon several questions which they had sent to me, respecting rights of presence, feudal or seigneurial rights, supplement of the crown-lands, new purchases, the crown-lands of Navarre, rights of *traite foraine et domaniale*, payments upon cloths, and particularly the taille réelle, upon which the council determined, with one voice, that, the prince, the officers of the crown, and the king himself being obliged to pay it, for the lands which they possessed in that province, it must be paid by every one else, both cities and communities. I ordered Mauffac to carry letters, concerning all this, to the parliament of Toulouse, the treasurers of France, and the farmers of the gabelles. I directed the edict for the repurchase of the registers to M. de Verdun, first president of that parliament, that he might see it registred, which he did without any difficulty or subterfuge. He wrote, at the same time, that he had proceeded to make a compensation to the registers of the several courts; and assured me of the exact submission of the parliament to the king's will. To this he added some personal acknowledgments, and thanked me, among other things, for having sent such a commissioner as Colange, a man of soft address, and insinuating behaviour.

I do my best to suppress all particularities, which must naturally be tedious; and shall therefore say nothing of the letters which I wrote to the procurer-general of Dauphiné, to the sieur Marion, and to the treasurers of Burgundy, upon the repurchase of the
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the domaine, upon the late regulations, and upon every other subject*.

1608.

When I saw the year drawing to an end, I wrote to the king at Fontainebleau, that his presence was necessary for a general view of the finances: that I wanted his orders for a thousand things, such as his garrisons, his troops, the gallies, the officers of the dauphin's household, and of the children of France; that, by his absence, many other affairs were left unsettled, which, by those who had them in charge, were considered as merely of my invention, and indifferent to him. I shall honestly confess, that I have always endeavoured to join his majesty with his ministers in the management of business, because, in reality, the best regulations come to nothing, unless it plainly appear that neglect will be punished by the displeasure of the prince.

The brevet of the taille had never been made in a manner so solemn as it was now for the year 1609. His majesty came on the 16th of August, and took his seat in the council, attended by several princes, dukes, peers, and officers of the crown, and an edict of the council was past in his presence, by which it is said, that the king having examined the calculations of receipts and expences for the present year, and heard the reports of his council, and the superintendant of his finances, was very desirous to shew his regard to the remonstrances which they had made him, by discharging his people from part of the taille; but that the debts contracted by his predecessors, and the disorder in which he found the finances, obliged him to encrease it instead of diminishing: but that, however, he was contented to impose, for the next year, only the same sum as for the year past, with the augmentation but of twenty thousand seven hundred and fifty livres, ten sols, and seven deniers, which were to arise by an appropriation of the same sum, which the commissioners

* All the letters in the old Memoirs of Sully, of this year 1608, may be consulted on this subject. Vol. III.

1608. had always charged upon the parishes for some petty expences of each province, which charge was from henceforth suppressed.

I shall give an account, with some satisfaction, of a memorial, which I presented to the king, concerning the taille, because, by the particularities and reflections contained in it, it may pass for an epitomè of the history of the taille, in France.

It is certain, that no state whatsoever, subject to the government of many, or of one, can be without paying taxes : for tho' we should suppose it content with the power which it now has, without endeavouring after more, it is however impossible, but that, from time to time, it must have outrages to revenge, and rebels to repress. Innumerable necessities, rising within itself, must be indispensably supplied by regular expences, which however must be sometimes greater, sometimes less. These expences, as well ordinary as extraordinary, were, in this kingdom, for a long time, raised upon the lands belonging to the king, or to the crown, by taxes, under the name of voluntary assistance, laid and allotted by a general determination of all the orders of the kingdom, which are called the states. They were however almost nothing to the immense sums to which we have seen them rise since, because, in those times, they confined themselves to things barely necessary as well in as out of the kingdom. It is a remark, which I know not whether any man has made, that of all our kings of the third race, down to Charles VIII. not one appears to have engaged in distant conquests, or even to have made a formal declaration of war, against any neighbouring prince. With this spirit of moderation and frugality they never found themselves in want ; but were able to discharge all expences without mortgaging, or alienating their lands ; and were therefore, in reality, notwithstanding that appearance of poverty, much richer than their successors in the midst of all their treasures, which they have obtained by boundless

less power, and absolute authority. This is no paradox. The prince who can do much, he thinks, he can do every thing, and undertakes every thing without perceiving a capital error in the computation of his strength, the impoverishment and ruin of his subjects, which is always aggravated as his desires encrease, and at last reduces him to total weakness.

I say nothing of the troubles arising from endeavours to satiate an avarice in itself insatiable. The taille, which of all arbitrary imposts is indisputably the most pernicious as the most unjust, as under that name are comprehended all capitations or assessments raised arbitrarily upon particular persons, furnishes us with many striking examples of its bad consequences. How many times has it brought the royal authority into danger? Its first consequence was to turn Childeric, the father of Clovis, out of his throne; and some time afterwards it cost Childeric his life: for he was assassinated by Bodillon, a French gentleman, in revenge of ignominious treatment, which he received from the prince, for having represented, with a little freedom of speech, the danger of an exorbitant tax, which he was going to establish. Such another tax, under Philip Augustus, produced an insurrection of the nobility, which defeated the design. Others, who have succeeded better in this undertaking, have afterwards felt such violent remorse of conscience, that they have been forced to set themselves at ease by an absolution from the Pope. St. Lewis left no injunction so forceable to his son, as that of raising no money upon his subjects, against their will, and without their consent. Philip de Valois, who got rid of all such scruples, found the consequences of raising taxes, and saw his chief cities in arms against him. He assisted, before he was king, at an *assemblée des Notables*, in the reign of Lewis surnamed Hutin, in which it was decreed, that every king should, when he was consecrated, take an oath to lay no new

1608. taxes upon his people without the authority of an assembly of the three estates. To this decree John I. and Charles V. submitted, and made modest demands of supplies, which were granted them. A tax assessed upon particular people, without an assembly of the states, or consent of the nation, was looked upon as not the least evil in the reign of Charles VI. a reign so full of unfortunate events, that it may be called the grave of the French laws, and the French morals. Under Charles VII. who had the English to drive out of his country, that necessity which lessened the murmurs of the people, encreased the evil. He had the address to change that tribute into a stated and settled payment; which, from being a personal assessment, had the name of *taille*. It was however established, in different provinces, in different forms: in some it was called a poll-tax, in others a tax upon estates, in others a mixed tax: it was fixed by Charles VII. at one million eight hundred thousand livres. Let us now see what progress it had made from reign to reign, down to our time.

Lewis XI. augmented the *taille* to four millions seven hundred thousand livres. In the year 1498, at the time of the death of Charles VIII. it appears, that there were paid into the exchequer, when all expences were deducted, four millions four hundred sixty-one thousand six hundred and nineteen livres; in 1515, at the death of Lewis XII. four millions eight hundred sixty-five thousand six hundred and seventeen livres. It made at once a prodigious advance under Francis I. who left it at his death raised to fourteen millions forty-four thousand one hundred and fifteen livres. Henry II. left it at no more than twelve millions ninety-eight thousand five hundred and sixty-three livres. It continued to shrink in the two following reigns, being in the time of Francis II. only eleven millions one hundred and four thousand nine hundred and seventy-one livres; and in that of Charles IX. but eight millions six hundred thirty-eight

eight thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight livres. The reign of Henry III. favoured it much, if we take a view of it, not as it stood at the time when he was stripped of great part of his kingdom, as about the year of his death, but in 1581 for instance, when it brought in thirty-one millions six hundred and fifty-four thousand four hundred livres. Henry the Great, instead of suffering himself to be carried away by a bad example, was content, tho' he had immense debts to clear, and great charges to support, with receiving only sixteen millions clear money, half from the tailles, and half from the farms.

If, notwithstanding all this, Henry found means to put twenty millions into his coffers, as we shall find he did, he owed it to a frugality which was not known in those reigns, and which would probably have been looked on as scandalous. Foreigners could no longer meddle in the finances with impunity. This year the elector palatine wrote to me from Heidelberg, earnestly pressing me to procure him the reimbursement of some money, which, he said, he had lent to the king, and for which, in eight year, he had only drawn one single assignment. Carl-Paul, a counsellor, and gentleman in ordinary to this elector, was sent to me with great offers of service from his master, to prosecute this affair. The place I held often procured me compliments from foreign princes. The duke of Savoy, when he sent the sieur Jacob to his majesty to congratulate him on the birth of his third son, sent me at the same time, a very polite and obliging letter.

The duchess of Lorrain's sickness brought the duke of Mantua into Lorrain, and from thence into France. This princess was so ill after her lying-in, that the physicians long despaired of her life: she had had but one child, which was a daughter, who was extremely well, and the mother was at length cured. Their majesties appeared to be greatly interested in her recovery, and neglected nothing to make the duke of Mantua's stay in France agreeable to him:

1608. they gave him a great many fine ballets, and still better repasts, for which the king paid a severe penance, by the great quantity of medicines he was obliged to take afterwards. The duke of Mantua did not repass the Alps till the middle of October, carrying with him a large sum of money, which he had won from the king at play. There were still four thousand pistoles due to him when he went away, which, at parting, he desired Henry to pay to his commissioner. His majesty sent me an order for it in a billet, which Edourd brought me.

The negotiations for a peace, or a long truce, were still continued in the Low Countries at the Hague, the place chosen for the conferences, but in such a manner, that it was long believed the mark, which had been thought so near, would be removed for ever; such difficulties arose through distrust, enmity, and a diversity of interest. A certain Spanish cordelier, who was employed very much in this affair by his catholic majesty, passing through Paris, had the honour to be presented to the king, whom he endeavoured to persuade that the peace would be soon concluded. Don Pedro* caused a report to be spread through all Paris, that the couriers, which were to carry the news of it to Spain, would speedily arrive. The king, and all those who were informed of the true state of things, by the dispatches sent from Jeannin, and the rest of his majesty's agents in the Low Countries, could not give credit to

* Don Pedro was ambassador from Spain at the court of France: his presence there was far from being agreeable to Henry IV. since he was not unacquainted with that minister's cabals, to engage his council in the Spanish interest. See Vittorio Siri, *mem. recond.* vol. I. Le Grain, *Decade de Henry le Grand*, b. x. L'Etoile, and other historians. Le Grain relates the following repartee from Henry IV. to Don Pedro, who saying to him, he saw no body so ill lodged at Fontainebleau as God, Henry made answer, "We

" Frenchmen lodge God in our
" hearts, not between four walls
" like you Spaniards; and I should
" have a doubt, if you were even
" to lodge him in your hearts, as
" we do, he would there be in a
" lodging of stone. But don't you
" see, says he, afterwards, smiling,
" that my chapel is not yet finish-
" ed; I do not intend to leave it
" in the condition it now is; there
" are few gentlemen in my king-
" dom, who have not a chapel in
" their houses; I do not design
" mine shall want one."

these

these reports; and with reason, since from that time, till the end of September, and of October, and so on, all the remaining part of the year, nothing was effected. It is not certain, that the obstacle proceeded from the Spaniards. It is the safest way, therefore, to leave this point doubtful. As for the archdukes, they laboured in earnest for the peace. His most christian majesty, tho' contrary to his own interests, gave also the most pacific councils: but things were brought to such a point, that this was the only part, Henry thought, he ought to take.

With respect to the prince of Orange, if he was not the sole enemy to the peace, he was, at least, the most declared one. These are the reasons and pretences made use of by him and his partisans, to prevent its taking place: that whatever desire Spain might appear to have, either for a peace or a long truce, yet she would never agree to it, with the condition of renouncing, formally and expressly, all sovereignty over the United Provinces; and yet, without this clause, these provinces could have no dependance upon treaties, since otherways the Spaniards would still have a right to secure the harbours, forts, soldiers, sailors; would draw to themselves all the trade, and open a second time the way to their tyranny: that during the truce they would find means to lull all the best and wisest of the people into a lethargy, and put the disaffected and mercenary among them into motion; that the catholic party in those provinces, having already a strong inclination for the Spanish dominion, would rise, declare themselves openly, and bring all, or the greatest part of the country into their measures; so that when the truce was expired, Spain would have an opportunity to finish the war at one blow*; that the peace, if the treaty might be called so, had no security in a truce, which the king of Spain would break whenever his designs were ripe for execution.

* Spain, in reality, renewed the war against the Flemings more vigorously than ever, in the year 1621, when the truce expired.

The

1608. The princess of Orange wrote to me soon after in almost the same terms, except only, that, although she observed to me that the troops, the towns, and even whole provinces were of her son-in-law's opinion, and faithfully devoted to the whole house of Nassau, yet she could not dissemble, that the contrary party was at least as strong as theirs.

Prince Maurice, who thought in the same manner, did not fail to use his endeavours to gain the king: in October he sent Lambert, the son, with a letter to his majesty, in which he told him, he might give absolute credit to whatever he should say to him in his name. Lambert highly extolled his master's design: he endeavoured to persuade the king, that things were brought to such a point, that the marquis Spinosa, the president Richardot, and the Spanish commissioners, had been thanked and dismissed on the first of this month. All this so much the more surprised his majesty's counsellors, who were present at this report of Lambert, as Berny, in the dispatches he had sent before, had acquainted the king, that the equipages of these Spanish deputies, and themselves likewise, were expected at Brussels the 4th of October. They would have persuaded his majesty, that now both his friends and his enemies would think themselves happy, to receive from him whatever conditions he should be pleased to impose upon them. This was what Villeroi wrote to me when he gave me a full account of this whole affair; sending me likewise to Gergeau, where I then was, a copy of the prince of Orange's letter. But the king was not so precipitate: Lambert's discourse appeared to him, from several circumstances, very doubtful. He saw no letter from the council of the States. That from the prince seemed full of reserve and artifice. Maurice himself had hitherto acted in a manner so little conformable to his professions, that there was sufficient reason for holding him suspected. When Lambert added, that Zeland would rather come under the dominion of the English,

lish, than consent to an agreement with Spain; and that the Dutch entreated his majesty would at least keep himself neutral, if he would not assist his allies as formerly; since, if they only remained possessed of these towns, they would still find employment for the Spaniards fifty years longer. Henry, in these words, saw nothing but an extravagant boast full of falshood, or at least of most gross artifice; which appeared plainer when Lambert advanced a thousand other things, that, if true, Jeannin could not have been ignorant of, and of which he had not given his majesty any account. According to Lambert, Barneveldt and Aërfens were disgraced, and even in danger of being prosecuted; and in several towns of the States it had been deliberated in their councils, whether they should not take a resolution to submit themselves to the French sovereignty. Strange! how all this could be carried on so secretly, that in Flanders people should be wholly ignorant such designs were forming: but indeed the discourse of Lambert did not always agree with the letter he brought from the prince of Orange.

I am of opinion, that if his majesty had seen probability in any of these proposals, such, for example, as that of receiving the Dutch under his dominion, he would not have needed any spur to animate him to the undertaking; for he sometimes could not hinder himself from being a little offended with Jeannin, for not turning his views that way: but at length Henry took a wiser resolution, which was quietly to hear and see all that passed, without appearing either willing to retard, or solicitous to accomplish the peace; and suffer them to agree in whatever manner they pleased, without interposing in the affair. He ordered Jeannin to conduct himself by this plan; and willing to have my advice, he sent me an exact account of every thing by Villeroi, and sent Lambert to me likewise. This agent talked to me in the same manner as he had done to his majesty; but I had, in the princess of Orange's letter alone,

1608. alone, a good preservative against his arts. He could find nothing to answer me, although probably he was not well pleased with my sincerity; nor with the epithets of base, and ungrateful, which I so freely bestowed on the States.

I answered Villeroi only by letters; and in these I did not disclose all my thoughts, but referred him to my return for a fuller explanation. It was to the king alone that I chose to declare my true sentiments of all that passed in Flanders. Although prince Maurice had not always exactly followed the plan of conduct he had laid down, and had even sometimes deviated from it plainly enough; yet it was not either strange or surprising, that he should endeavour to support, even to the last extremity, a resolution in which his honour could not but be deeply interested: but as to Henry, it did not become a great captain, and a powerful monarch, to intrude himself into affairs in which his interposition was not sought for; his dignity required that he should examine well what was proposed, and not act precipitately. With respect to the States, if it was with their concurrence that Maurice made these offers, it was done too late and unseasonably: they had committed faults against his majesty, which they sought to repair, or rather they added to that ingratitude they had shewn to the king the shameful design of making him still their dupe: the offer of Zealand to England was a mere fable, and all the rest collusion, deceit, and artifice, to which it was not fit his majesty should answer any otherways, than by continuing to interpose in the affairs of these provinces, just as much as was convenient for his interest and his glory.

It was partly on this account that Henry so earnestly wished for my return from Gergeau. In Flanders every thing continued in a state of doubt and uncertainty, of which all the advices that came from thence partook. It happened that the original of the instructions given by the archdukes to the deputies, when they were sent to the Hague, fell into the hands

hands of the prince of Orange; either the paper had been forgot by the president Richardot*, or was stolen from him; or he suffered it expressly to be seen to please the catholics, to whom those instructions were very favourable. Maurice exclaimed loudly against it, and often made use of it to animate his partisans; the conferences often languished, but were not interrupted; war was become impossible, and consequently an agreement was absolutely necessary. This only was past a doubt, that whatever sincerity both parties might seem to profess, yet they sought carefully to prevent a true interpretation of their words, that they might not want a motive for renewing the war as soon as they could do it with any probability of success. If therefore France lost a favourable opportunity for humbling her rival, she had reason to expect that a much better would present itself, provided that, till then, she took care to manage her strength. "I am still of opinion," thus writ his majesty to me, "that in this affair God will strike a blow which men little expect, and which will blast all their designs: thus have I seen it happen during thirty years, and always to my advantage: may it still be so, and I entreat with my whole heart, that my faults and ingratitude may not hinder it."

By able politicians another observation was made still more important than the preceding; which was, that the power of Spain was now beginning to decline. If they judged thus, it was not surely on account of the respect shewn by the king of Spain and the archdukes for his majesty's agents, particularly Jeannin; the restrictions she kept with regard to the Dutch made it evident, that she still possessed the same arrogance and ambition; and that she either would not confess, or was herself ignorant of, her weakness: but when a state is seen to want strength

* John Richardot, president of the privy council in the Low Countries, was a good negotiator: he had been concerned in the treaty of Vervins. He died the next year.

and

1608. and good conduct, when fortune and opportunities are let slip, its decline is then no longer on the foot of a mere conjecture, but may be pronounced absolutely certain.

Of this, however, we had other proofs from what passed upon the frontiers of Navarre and Bearn. The Spaniards having renewed their former quarrels concerning the boundaries of these two kingdoms, Henry, who was determined to give up nothing, writ to me to confer with the chancellor about this affair, and to send one of the privy-counsellors to talk of it to the Spanish ambassador, rather to clear himself of the consequences this quarrel might produce, than with any expectation that it would be composed by that method. His majesty, with the same view, writ to La-Force *, to whom alone all the authority over that frontier was confided, to support his rights by all the most speedy and efficacious means he could think of; and as it could not be expected that the inhabitants of that country could furnish him with great supplies, I received orders to re-imburse to him all the expences he had already been at, and to provide him with a sufficient fund for the future.

However, these precautions were all useless. Upon the first complaints made by La-Force to the viceroy of Arragon, he was promised a ratification of all that he should demand, and, contrary to the custom of the council of Madrid, without any delay. The kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon were full of disaffected persons, who, upon any appearance of a rupture, were ready to join the enemy; and the council of Spain was not ignorant, that many of them had already offered their service to France. La-Force, to whom they applied, gave his majesty notice of it; and added, that although he was convinced no great dependance could be placed on the restless and uncertain temper of these

* James Nompar de Caumont, afterwards duke de La-Force.

people,

people, yet an opportunity now offered which could not fail of giving success to their designs, provided only that it was immediately made use of: that the Spaniards, with all their art and skill, could not conceal their weak and exhausted condition, which no one was any longer ignorant of; and that the affairs of the government were in the utmost confusion. La-Force had never before writ either to his majesty or me in terms like these; and he was more likely than any other person to know the true state of things, as well with regard to this as to another faction, which gave great apprehensions to the council of Madrid, tho' it was formed only by the wretched remains of a people almost wholly extirpated; I mean, the Moors.

To make this understood, it is necessary I should give a place here to a transaction which I could not introduce elsewhere without interrupting the narration. Henry, when only king of Navarre, was strongly persuaded in his own mind, that he should one day assist himself against Spain with these domestic enemies, less considerable indeed for their number, than the deep resentment they were believed to preserve against their oppressors. The Moors, on their side, learning by public report that the protestant party, which they knew to be very powerful in France, and always opposite to Spain, had a king of Navarre at their head; that is, a prince from two powerful motives the enemy of that crown, began again to solicit the interest of all those persons who could be useful to them in procuring his protection; and, among others, they applied to messieurs de St. Geniés, and D'Odou, promising them to excite an almost general insurrection in Spain, provided they were sure of being supported. All they demanded was a General, and some good officers, to whom they promised an absolute obedience. They offered to furnish all the money that was necessary for this enterprise, assuring them that they would have reason to be satisfied, both with the
number

1608. number of their soldiers, and their courage and resolution. An asylum in France, with the free enjoyment of their effects, and the liberty of their persons, were all the conditions annexed by them to this treaty. As to religion, they seemed disposed to a very easy composition, since they offered to embrace that which was professed in the kingdom; not the Roman catholic religion, for the tyranny of the inquisition had rendered this second servitude more insupportable than the first, but the protestant. They found that it would be no difficult matter to accommodate themselves to a form of worship unincumbered with images and ceremonies, and of which one sole God, equally adored, and invoked by all, was almost the only object.

St. Geniés, and D'Odou, did not fail to make a faithful report of all this to the king of Navarre, when he took that journey into Bearn and Foix, which we have already mentioned. Henry ordered them to get exact information from the Moors what forces they could muster, what arms they had occasion for, what money they could promise to contribute, and by what methods they proposed to begin an enterprise of such consequence. These two gentlemen employed, at first, only one person in this negotiation, who was an officer, called captain Danguin; but in proportion as their correspondencies increased, they employed twelve others; and the secret, tho' entrusted to so many persons, was so carefully kept, that the Spaniards had not the least suspicion of this conspiracy, till they received notice of it from Nicholas L'Hôte, that secretary of Villeroi whose history has been already related. They afterwards made a full discovery, and the affair appeared to be of so much the more importance, as it was proved that this party, at first very inconsiderable, was then joined by more than five hundred thousand persons. Two things had concurred to make it so formidable; first, the succours they had the address and leisure to procure from the
Turks,

Turks, the great enemies of Spain; and, secondly, 1608. the interest that many natural Spaniards took in the affair.

The council of Madrid, upon the first notice of this rebellion, having deliberated whether it would not be proper to clear the country of these Moors, by obliging them all to repass the sea, communicated this resolution to the nobility and gentry of the kingdom of Valentia, where it was received so ill, that a sedition was raised in several provinces, the nobility of which, keeping many of these Moors in slavery, could not consent to their banishment, without losing, at the same time, one fourth part of their revenues. They therefore took up arms against those who came to signify to them the new order of the council of Spain. The viceroy thought to have appeased this first tumult, by sending the principal officer for the administration of justice to the mutineers, whom the chancery called the regent. This regent was a proud old man, who, seeing himself instantly surrounded with arms and a furious mob, fell dead in the midst of them.

In such a conjuncture the Spanish council could no longer dissemble their weakness. It was indeed but too palpable, by their tamely suffering, for a long time, a revolt in the midst of the kingdom, without using any efforts to quell it. The Moors, who had not expected to be so cautiously dealt with, became more bold. They renewed their solicitations to Henry, who could not now, as when he was king of Navarre only, evade their request by alledging that he was too weak, and had too many difficulties to encounter to make any great efforts in their favour. The Moors, determined, at all events, to shake off the Spanish yoke, entreated him only to receive them into the number of his subjects, on whatever conditions he pleased: but the same considerations which hindered Henry from openly espousing the party of the United Provinces, on an occasion wherein he was more nearly interested, forbade

1608. him likewise from declaring himself the deliverer of a people that were more immediately the subjects of Spain, at a great distance, and who demanded a naval armament, for the centre of the revolt was in Valentia, Murcia, and Granada; without taking in many other reasons drawn from the character of this people, and without laying any stress upon the usual vicissitudes of war, which distance always conceals, or partly disguises. All this considered, his majesty certainly could not be blamed for not answering more favourably the desires of the Moorish nation. I leave the reader to judge, if, during this whole time, the council of Madrid, which was well informed of all that was projecting, could be very easy. They had suffered, for five years, a malady which they had but too great a certainty of, to take deep root. At length they thought proper to make an effort, and resumed their design of shipping off all the Moors that were in Spain, a design which was now believed more difficult to execute than before, as a report was spread, that the Turks were cruising near Majorca to prevent the blow. It was therefore necessary to fit out a fleet to oppose theirs. October came without any thing appearing either on one side or the other; and the whole year passed, during which no mention was made by the Spaniards, who knew that the Barbarians waited for them with a body of ten thousand foot, and five thousand horse, fully determined to defend themselves bravely. The battle however proved favourable to the Spaniards, and time furnished them with the means of totally ridding themselves of an enemy * who had no longer any resources. This however could not be done without the loss of five hundred thousand subjects to Spain †; for that was the number of persons she

* The Moors, with one Barhassa at their head, gave battle to the Spaniards, in which they were defeated, and were obliged to leave Spain the year after. See Le Merc. Franç. and other historians.

† Others make them amount to seven or eight hundred thousand; a wound to Spain which has never yet been healed; but from whence no benefit accrued to us, tho' it was easy for us to have had advantage

banished

banished out of her states, after depriving them of all their effects. 1608.

The emperor treated the city of Donavert, in Germany, with equal severity, and with less right to do so. He seized it, although it was one of the imperial cities, deprived it of the greatest part of its privileges, and its inhabitants of the liberty of conscience. This violence excited many murmurs there, and was the cause of many disorders.

from it: for tho' we had not given assistance to those unfortunate people, as cardinal Richelieu afterwards did to the Portuguese, on a similar occasion, we might, at least, have given them an asylum in France, had it been only in the uncultivated parts of Bourdeaux, where they in vain, as it is said, desired leave to settle. This false step of the government is judiciously pointed out by the author of *L'Essai politique sur le Commerce*. "To cultivate barren ground,"

says he on this subject, "is conquering a new country without prejudice to any one." It may be said, that the same reasons, which made it expedient to drive the Moors out of Spain, were equally strong against their reception in France. But it would have been easy to take the advantage of the miserable condition they were in, to have imposed on them whatever terms might have been thought expedient.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XXVI.

1609.

ON the first day of the new year, I went, as usual, to present the king with some gold medals, of which the subject was, the glory he had acquired in reconciling the Pope and the Venetians, the Spaniards and the Dutch, and some other princes of Europe. After a few moments of conversation upon indifferent matters, Henry took me aside to a window to tell me, that he desired I would compose for him four states of accounts, in the manner of several others I had already given him: the first, of the equivalents gathered in the twelve generalities of the kingdom; the second, of all the claims, and duties, which make part of the royal revenues; the third, of the principal levies of the taille, called the ordinary levies, from the year 1599 to 1609, taking in these two last years; the fourth, of the levies of the taille, called the great increase, or extraordinary increase, during the eleven last years. I want, said Henry, to shew them to some persons who think they have great skill in the finances, although they know nothing of
of

of the matter; and to others who admire their method, defective as it is.

1609.

There was no necessity for this prince to make any excuse to me for this demand; the pleasure it gave me to see him enter with me into all the particularities of the government, left me no inclination to examine into the motive of this attention. I perceived that he had, for some time, made a study of my manner of conducting affairs, as well general as particular; and that by asking me sometimes for a state, sometimes for a memorial, one day for some instructions, the next for an explanation of them, all these pieces would soon compose a complete system of the finances, and other parts of the state. But I had no uneasiness upon this account; for whether Henry did this for his own instruction, or that he had a design to form other statesmen upon my maxims, through a fear that I should not always continue faithful to him, or whether he had an intention to employ me in other affairs, either within or without the kingdom, which would not give me leisure for these, the manner which he behaved to me * gave me no reason to imagine that there was any thing in this procedure, but what was wise, good, and even advantageous for me.

* If we give credit to the author of l'Hist. de la Mere & du Fils, we shall find Henry IV. had other motives for this behaviour to the duke of Sully. "He was," says this author, far from being "pleased with the conduct of M. de Sully, and had a mind to take the management of the finances out of his hands, in order to put them under the direction of Armand. He had often told the queen he could no longer bear with his ill-humours. His discontent with the duke was fixed, and he was resolved to strip him of his office; but the time for

"it was not yet proper," &c. But the rest of this book will furnish us with so strong proofs of the great confidence Henry IV. had in M. de Sully, that we may conclude this author was taken in the trap, which, another writer of those times informs us, this prince and his minister frequently laid for those that were too credulous, when, in order to do their business the better, they thought proper to assume all the external appearances of a real misunderstanding, which made the courtiers say of them, *Like master like man.*

1609.

When he came to the arsenal, at the end of the month, I gave him those four states, which I shall not transcribe here; but only content myself with observing, that the total of the first made it appear that the equivalents amounted to one hundred and fifty-one thousand seventy-three livres, a sum greatly inferior to what many persons imagined, who had suggested to the king, that he ought to get a sol in the livre by all. In the second, notwithstanding the great application I had given to it, some terms had escaped me, which the king could not understand; but I promised him to make it complete within the year. The total of the third was one hundred and seven millions four hundred forty-five thousand three hundred and fifty-three livres, sixteen sols, eleven deniers: that of the fourth, fifty-two millions one hundred forty-four thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine livres, twelve sols, six deniers. Henry only looked at the titles of these papers then, and gave them to La-Varenne, with orders to return them to him when he returned to the Louvre, and was in his library with Berenghen. I likewise gave him a list of all the particular accounts, which made part of the general account of the finances, or was inserted in that account*.

As Henry went to Chatillon two days afterwards, I did not suppose he had examined, with any great degree of attention, this long list of accounts, which gave rise to a little debate. One day, when his majesty was discoursing with the chancellor, Villeroi, and I, and that the conversation had turned upon this subject, I happened to say, that, besides those accounts which I left to the care of my secretaries, there were above a hundred which I was obliged to write with my own hand, at the beginning of each year. The king seemed astonished, and Villeroi likewise. I am persuaded, said Sillery

* These accounts are set forth at large in Sully's Memoirs, in the III^d and following volumes.

in his soft gracious manner, that there must be a great number; but I cannot conceive how there should be a hundred. I think I have a little knowledge of the matter. You have done well, Monsieur, replied I, to say something; but you would have done still better to have said nothing, since you are talking of matters that you can be informed of by nobody but myself. There needed no more to prove which of us was in the right, than just to look into the list I had given the king, wherein those, and only those, were comprehended. Having a copy of it in a bag of papers, which one of my secretaries had brought with him, I ordered him to draw near: Sillery himself read the paper, by which his majesty was convinced I had said no more than the truth.

While the king was at Chantilly, he wrote me the following billet, dated Wednesday, March 25: "My friend, I mount my horse, after dinner, to go to Lusarche, where I intend to lie this night. To-morrow I shall come very early to Paris; and, as I intend to dine with you, provide for twelve persons, and let us have some fish. Adieu, my dear friend." He came, accordingly, and I gave him a dinner to his taste. After the cloths were taken away, I ordered cards and dice to be brought, and laid a purse of four thousand pistoles upon the table for his majesty, and another, with a like sum, to lend to those lords that accompanied him, and who, not expecting to play, might not have money about them. Henry was pleased with this ceremony. "Come hither, grand master," said he to me, and embrace me; for I love you, and I have reason to do so. I am so agreeably situated here, added he, that I am resolved to sup and lye here. I have some reasons for not going to the Louvre to-day, which you shall know after we have done play; and, in the mean time, order three coaches to be got ready to carry me an airing, after which you and I will have

1609. "some discourse together: but do not admit any
 "company while I am here, except those I shall
 "send for. I expect to find no one here at my re-
 "turn." The king having passed the whole day
 entirely to his satisfaction, he desired that I would
 give him a dinner the next day likewise. He con-
 tinued great part of the morning shut up with me
 in my closet, discoursing upon many things which
 I am not at liberty to mention. His majesty read
 the accounts I had given him with great pleasure,
 and said to me aloud, as he went out of the closet,
 "You have given me papers with which I am
 "highly pleased; but there are still many parti-
 "culars which you must explain to me in writing:
 "for I shall not remember all you have said."

All the company gathering about the king, he
 declared publicly his design of passing, in the same
 manner, two or three days each month at the arse-
 nal. He commanded me to have a hall, a cham-
 ber, a wardrobe, and a closet, fitted up for him,
 without encroaching upon any of the apartments of
 my family; telling me, that whenever he came,
 for the future, he would neither be attended by his
 own officers, nor bring any of his cooks along with
 him; but that I should treat him as now: adding,
 in a most obliging manner, that every way, he was
 of opinion, he could not be better than in my hands;
 but that as it was not just this confidence should
 bring an increase of expence upon me, he would
 give me a gratuity of six thousand crowns a year
 for that purpose only: and this he repeated again
 at dinner.

Before we sat down to table, the conversation,
 between the fifteen or twenty persons who were in
 the king's retinue, happening to turn upon those
 great men whose actions are celebrated in history,
 Henry asked me which of them all I most wished
 he should resemble. It was not easy to answer this
 question by a single word, and the rather as Henry
 added, that I must not only have regard to their
 con-

conduct and personal merit, but likewise to every thing that a man might reasonably wish for; such as the qualities of the body, health, and that concurrence of circumstances by which a man is pronounced happy. To decide this question, it was necessary to examine and compare those heroes one with another; and, to say the truth, I was not sorry that such an opportunity offered to cover with shame several persons in the company, for their absolute ignorance of things, which every man of birth and figure should have, at least, some slight knowledge of. The king comprehended my design, by the turn of my compliment to him, in my first reply to his question. “ I find, said he, that “ you are not going to appear a man of few words; “ but I am resolved to hear all you have to say, “ which will be full as pleasing, and more advantageous to me, than if I had gone, as I intended, to see them play at mall till your dinner “ was ready.”

Accordingly I began to give an exact representation of all those whom antiquity styles illustrious men, among whom I did not forget such of our monarchs as had been dignified with that title; as Clovis, Charlemagne, Hugo Capet, Philip Augustus, St. Lewis, Charles V. Charles VII. and Lewis XII. The quality of enemies of France did not seem to me a sufficient reason for excluding the great names of Edward III. and Charles V. I named none without making their characters known to the company, at least, in general, by strokes, which, tho’ slight, for the sake of brevity, yet displayed their good and bad qualities, and the happy or unfortunate events of their reigns. It is now your part, Sire, said I, (after I had finished this enumeration, which had obliged me to continue speaking a long time) to declare which of these great kings you would chuse to resemble, and to examine whether you would not lose by the comparison; you who, in many things, have certainly
fur-

1609. { surpassed them all. " Before I decide this point, "
 " replied his majesty, it is necessary I should confi-
 " der more attentively what you have said, as well
 " good as ill, concerning each of these princes :
 " but your dinner, which is served (for indeed we
 " were informed that it was time to place ourselves
 " at table) will not afford us leisure for it now ;
 " therefore we must defer it till another time.
 " However, I desire you will reduce your dis-
 " course to writing; after which I will tell you
 " what I think of it, as well as of your last
 " words, which you only added, said this prince
 " with a gracious air, to make your repast more
 " agreeable."

While we were at table, some of the company, to show their reading, renewed the subject we had just been treating; and mentioned several circumstances in history with great ostentation: but, at the same time, confounded persons and things in so ridiculous a manner, that the king could not help laughing at them, while he made me a compliment upon the strength of my memory. I suffered the king to remain in this advantageous opinion of me till we rose from table, when I told him, in private, the fortunate accident to which it was owing; for I happened three days before, to meet with an extract of the lives of illustrious men, which I had made during the time that I employed myself in the study of history; and, that very day, had made it the subject of conversation with some of my friends, which had recalled all my former ideas, and furnished me with those circumstances I had related. This learned scene was succeeded by cards, dice, and pistoles. I went, in the mean time, into the hall, where I spared his majesty the fatigue of giving audience, he being employed more to his taste; for he gained, that afternoon, two thousand five hundred pistoles, and came out in very good humour to take an airing in the coaches I had

ordered to be prepared for him, as he had done the evening before, after which he returned to the Louvre. 1609.

Five or six days after I had the honour to treat and lodge the king at the arsenal, he was informed that some reports were spread in several provinces relating to things, which, he imagined, were only known to himself and me: for, indeed, he had imparted them to me with the utmost secrecy. For some days he suspected that I had been indiscreet in divulging these secrets, while I, though he often asked me who were those intimate friends I had in Bourbonnois and Berry, had not the least doubt of his suspicion. At length, he called me to him one day, "Come hither, grand master, said he to me, "and answer truly to the questions I am going to ask you." I promised faithfully to do so; but with this condition, that if his questions related to any thing, wherein by answering, I might displease him, that he should command me absolutely to speak my sentiments freely, and promise not to be offended if I obeyed him. He replied, that his questions were not of that nature; and then opening his whole heart to me, I justified myself by oaths, which perfectly convincing him of my innocence, his vexation was succeeded by a surprise, which I felt in no less a degree than himself.

However, it was not long before I unravelled this mystery. A letter, written by father Cotton to father Ignatius, a jesuit at Moulins, was brought to me in a packet that came from Bourges, and laid open the whole affair. With this letter, which filled me with a real joy, I went to wait upon the king, who was arrived at the Louvre with the queen, whom he had gone as far as Anet to meet. After some conversation upon Anet and Chantilly, I said to him, "Sire, the other day, you ordered me to swear that I would tell you the truth: do not be offended if I entreat you, in my turn, to tell me whether you have never mentioned, to any other than

1609. { than me, those things you accuse me of having revealed: if you have not, certainly there are some persons about you who have a familiar spirit, and can dive into the most secret thoughts." The king smiled, and lightly tapped my cheek; then embracing me, "I am too desirous that you should
 " be always sincere with me, said he, to give you
 " an example of insincerity. I confess then, that
 " I have mentioned those affairs both to father Cotton and Beringhen; but I can answer for the
 " last, that he has never revealed them." "Neither is it he, but the jesuit, said I; and this letter," giving it into his hands, "will prove it." His majesty read it; and here it follows transcribed entire:

" Rev. Father, Pax Christi. I never wrote so seldom before, or desired to write so often. Your
 " reverence may, if you please, lay the fault upon
 " my business, particularly at this time. M. de
 " Citeaux will be satisfied with an abbey near his
 " own, which is, at present, in the hands of a
 " canon of the holy chapel, seventy years old;
 " and, in return for the said abbey, will procure
 " to be granted by a general chapter, which will
 " be held after Whitsuntide, whatever we desire of
 " Bellebranche. There is a disturbance at Orleans
 " about the business of the college, by some secret
 " practices; but God will direct all. The king
 " has written to the mayor and aldermen, to M.
 " d'Orleans, M. the lieutenant-general, M. the
 " prévot, to his attorney, and to M. de La Chatre. I join my letters to M. D'Escures, who sets
 " out to-morrow, and promises to bring every
 " thing to a conclusion. The king has also given
 " thirty thousand Livres to La-Fleche, upon the
 " advice which I communicated to your reverence.
 " His majesty goes to Chantilly on Tuesday, and
 " the queen, four days afterwards, to Chartres,
 " who will go and meet him at Anet, and then
 " come

“ come here and to Fontainebleau. That passion 1609.
 “ you know of still continues, notwithstanding
 “ which, the marriages of M. the prince and M.
 “ de Vendome will be celebrated after Easter.
 “ All is again upon a good footing with the man
 “ of the arsenal, whatever endeavours have been
 “ used to prevent it. The eldest son of M. de
 “ Crequy is to have the young de Verneuil; and
 “ the treaty of marriage between the marquis de
 “ Rosny and the eldest daughter of that nobleman
 “ still goes forward: for the father will not hear
 “ of breaking it off. M. des Yveteaux is employ-
 “ ed in the affair. The sieur Collin has demand-
 “ ed permission to stay in the college du Mont till
 “ the middle of August; but M. Savary will not
 “ agree to his staying longer than till Easter. The
 “ edict against duels is loudly called for. The
 “ preachers have done their duty concerning it;
 “ but father Gontery disgusts the king from time
 “ to time, tho’ I am endeavouring to ward off the
 “ blow. He says, that his sermons are seditious,
 “ and that they will one day give rise to a schism
 “ in our religion, or in the church. M. Bremont
 “ is resolved to enter into our society. You will
 “ see his laudable inclination by the inclosed let-
 “ ter, with one from the reverend father de La-
 “ Tour, which I found upon my table without
 “ knowing how it came there. M. de Bourges
 “ told me this day, that father Sallian is very
 “ well satisfied, and has lost nothing by his change.
 “ It is given out, that father Changer has changed;
 “ a thing that has been long dreaded. I am re-
 “ conciled to M. the count of Soissons, and upon
 “ better terms with him than ever; but I have had
 “ neither victuals nor money since January. The
 “ queen took me with her to Chartres, and places
 “ greater confidence in me than usual. M. de La
 “ Varenne says, that he is very willing to serve your
 “ brother; but not in the way you propose: for
 “ it is impossible to introduce the use of keeping
 “ horses

1609. " horses to lett, without hurting the relays and
 " posts; but he offers to do any thing else for
 " him that is in his power. The reverend father
 " Raimond has been here, and has brought the
 " sum of four hundred livres for alms, without
 " the materials of Talan for some part of them,
 " which M. Le-Grande promised him. Our bro-
 " ther Paran is now discharged from the exercise of
 " this office; for I have an answer from Rome, by
 " which I have been informed, that the union has
 " been approved by our holy father the Pope, and
 " the alms given by his holiness solely upon my
 " account, *quasi fuit ejus benevolentia*. I have de-
 " layed revising and printing my book till the sum-
 " mer, or till after autumn. The truce, for nine
 " years, in Flanders is almost determined. Ten
 " of our fathers have been taken coming from the
 " Balearian islands to Spain, by Simon Dansa, a
 " Dutch corsair, who has a wife at Marseilles.
 " The king is endeavouring to procure their free-
 " dom. Notwithstanding some little sallies of ill
 " humour, he favours and loves the society. *Quod*
 " *supereſt*, I am in great need of spiritual succours;
 " *oraque pro paupere*, who is your Reverence's most
 " affectionate

" And most humble servant,

Paris, March 18,
 1609.

" PETER COTTON."

P. S. " The marchioness de Mesnelay is resolved
 " to take the veil, notwithstanding all the entrea-
 " ties of her friends to the contrary. M. Avias,
 " rector of the chief church, lies at the point of
 " death: his distemper is a spotted fever: he is
 " a good priest, a faithful friend, and is going to
 " his God."

Henry

Henry read this letter twice from beginning to end; and although he concealed from me great part of his thoughts; yet I read in his countenance the uneasiness it gave him. "I must confess, said he to me, that there is more prudence and fidelity in your actions, and more truth and sincerity in your words, obstinate huguenot as you are, than in many catholics, and even ecclesiastics, who make profession of great piety and regularity of conduct." Upon the approach of M. the count of Soissons, he left me to go to this prince, to whom I believe he related all, and even shewed him the letter, in which he had a place as well as others. I was extremely glad that I had kept a copy of this letter; for his majesty would never return me the original.

Father Cotton was very uneasy at the accident which had happened to his letter; but he comforted himself a little, when he was told, that I had neither shewn it, nor mentioned the contents to any one but the king. He thought he owed me some acknowledgment for this moderation; and likewise, that some trifling justification was necessary. A letter I received from him, at his return from a journey he had taken into one of the provinces, was calculated to serve both these purposes. His letter was dated from Fontainebleau, where the court then was, and sent to me at Paris. He took occasion to praise the goodness of my heart, and the sweetness of my temper; since all the endeavours that had been used to give me a bad impression of him, had not, he said, been able to make any alteration in my kindness to him. He acknowledged, that a man, less generous than myself, would have made this letter a pretence for preserving some resentment against him. He did not say why; for doubtless, in his opinion, the terms in which he had expressed himself concerning me were not a sufficient cause for the anger of a generous man: nor, indeed, would I allow myself to be offended by them.

1609. them. Father Cotton must certainly understand his own meaning better than any other person; and if he was conscious of having intended any injury to *the man of the arsenal* he would not have had the confidence to entreat him, as he did, in this letter, to remember the building of the jesuits church, and the apartments designed for their classes at Poitiers, by verifying the accounts in which such expences as these were comprehended. Here he again introduced an eulogium upon my charity, followed by an ardent prayer that God would finish his work by inspiring me with right sentiments of the good religion*.

Not long after this affair, I plainly perceived, that some new, and more considerable cause of uneasiness had been given the king; for all his endeavours to dissipate his disquiet, served only to discover, and probably to encrease it. He staid eight whole days out of Paris, indulging his melancholy, in places where it could not be observed, at

* From what follows, as extracted out of the History of France, it will appear M. de Sully did not so readily forgive father Cotton: "Towards the end of this year, the jesuits, having obtained a gift from the king of a hundred thousand francs, to finish the building of their chapel at La-Flèche, came to M. de Sully for payment of it. Father Cotton told him, with his usual smoothness, that his majesty had made the society a small present of a hundred thousand livres for the chapel of La-Flèche. How, says the duke of Sully, do you call a hundred thousand livres a small present for you? The king gives you too much; but you will get nothing of me. Father Cotton desired to know the reason of this refusal. I do not think myself obliged, answered the duke, nor will I give any to you; but I shall give my reasons for it to

the king. Father Cotton complained of this to the king, who, to satisfy him, publicly said the duke for it; and told him he would have his commands obeyed. M. de Sully, nevertheless, did not do what the king had ordered, in regard to the jesuits chapel at La-Flèche." The same author observes, in another place, that it was very well known, at that time, that when the king and his minister thus appeared of opposite sentiments in public, it had often been privately concerted between them. What gives one reason to believe that had been the case then was, "That his majesty, as this writer adds, at this very time, gave the duke thirty thousand crowns for a new year's gift, instead of twenty thousand, which he used to give him before; with which the jesuits were not all pleased." Anno 1609.

1609.

Livry, and another house belonging to Montbazon. When he returned he passed most of his days in hunting, doubtless, that he might be longer and more frequently alone. This, however, was not the true remedy for his disease. He came, at length, to the arsenal to seek some comfort in disclosing his thoughts to me. He came up directly to my closet, without permitting any one to inform me of his arrival, and tapped at my door himself. I opened it, expecting nothing less than such a visit, and was yet in my morning dress, with my night-gown and cap on. He bid me good morning; asked me what I was doing; then, ordering all that were present to withdraw, he came into the closet with me, and shut the door; while I, with a fixed attention, beheld his unquiet motions, now seating himself, now rising, and walking hastily about the room, all signs of the agitation of his mind, as well as the vivacity with which he talked for more than two hours that we continued alone. I shall have no reason for disguising the subject of this agitation, or concealing our discourse; which might, likewise, be easily overheard by those without. His majesty thought they had all left the little hall, and were gone to walk either in the great one, the courts, or the gardens: but some of them staid at the door of the closet, excited by their curiosity to listen; for the melancholy of this prince had been observed by every one. Those, therefore, that stood at the door might hear almost every word that passed.

At first, he talked only of news relating to the emperor, some princes of Germany, the archdukes, and the president Richardot; after which, Henry confessing that there was something else which lay nearer to his heart, began a long discourse, during which I did hardly any thing else but listen to him. As his majesty believed that I, as well as the whole court, supposed the new quarrels, between him and the queen, were occasioned by the passion it was pub-

1609. lickly said he had conceived for Mademoiselle de Montmorency, a few days since married to the prince of Condé, it was with this article he began, which had always given me infinite uneasiness.

When I first perceived this growing inclination in Henry, I foresaw much greater inconveniencies from it than from any of his former attachments, on account of the birth and relations of the young lady, and I used my utmost endeavours to prevent the progress of it; endeavours which, tho' absolutely fruitless, I renewed again, when the king proposed to me his design of marrying her to M. the prince; for I had no reason to expect that Henry, upon this occasion, would exert that generous self-denial which some lovers have shewn themselves capable of, when they have taken this method to impose upon themselves the necessity of renouncing the object of their passion. Indeed it was the very contrary which I apprehended; and this belief offering nothing to my view but deep resentment, rage, and exclamation, from the injured prince, the relations of the princess, and the queen, I therefore neglected nothing which I thought could dissuade him from taking this resolution. I entreated, I remonstrated, I shrew myself at the feet of Henry. I not only importuned; I fatigued, I persecuted him; but all in vain: the fatal marriage was resolved on*.

These circumstances the king himself recalled to my remembrance, to convince me, he said, that, although I had foretold pretty justly the effects which love and jealousy might produce, yet I had not foreseen all that the malignity of his enemies was capable of suggesting to increase those fatal effects. This prince, part of whose character it was to pay an inviolable regard to truth, tho' he exposed his own failings by it, would not pretend to deny that there

* It was celebrated at Chantilly without any pomp. The march-bess of Verneuil said, "The king had made this match to sink the heart of the prince of Condé, and to raise his head." *Mem. Hist. de Fr. anno 1609.*

was some foundation for the public opinion and discourse. And, indeed, the passionate manner in which he talked of the high birth, the wit, and beauty of Mademoiselle de Montmorency, was sufficient to betray his sentiments; but it was not to those mean and insolent Italians, such as Conchini, Vinti, Guidi, Joannini, that he was accountable for his actions, who justly deserved to be punished for daring to exaggerate what little faults there might be in his conduct, in order to enrage the queen, and force her to take violent resolutions, which might give some colour for their pernicious designs. It was these designs which Henry was informed of from all parts, which filled him with apprehensions and disquiet, and hardly left him one moment of tranquillity. He had mentioned something of them in his letters to me, while he had yet only mere suspicions of their tendency: but these suspicions were changed into an absolute certainty, by the letters that La-Varenne and Zamet had communicated to him; by what he had been told by the younger Zamet at his return from Italy and Spain; and, lastly, by the informations he had received from Vaucelas, his ambassador at Madrid. We shall soon see that my brother-in-law was not a suspected witness.

His instructions *, when he was sent ambassador to Spain, were such as rather shewed an intention to keep open the difference between France and the house of Austria, than to come to an accommodation with it. He was a witness of the intrigues that the queen's agents carried on at Madrid, which they did in a manner so public and unrestrained, that he could not imagine it was unknown to the king, or even without his orders that they acted. These proceedings at first surprised, and afterwards mortified him to the last degree; for, believing that the council of France had absolutely changed its system,

* The titles given in these instructions to the count de Vaucelas, are, counsellor of state, &c. camp-master of the regiment and companies of infantry of Piedmont. Vol. 8955. MSS. Royaux.

1609. without acquainting him with the new resolutions they had taken, it must necessarily be, that his majesty had withdrawn from him his usual confidence, leaving him only the vain title of ambassador, while he entrusted to some other persons his important secrets, and the management of his most essential affairs. Full of this thought he supposed, that, if the king seemed, in appearance, not to have changed his opinion of him, or altered his behaviour, it was through his respect and regard for me, that he might spare me the uneasiness of knowing he despised my brother-in-law, who would not have failed to express his uneasiness to me, if he had not endeavoured to free him from such an opinion.

Possessed with this belief, Vaucelas determined to insinuate in two words to La-Varenne, and through him to the king, that he had reason to fear he had lost his majesty's favour; but in his letter to his brother-in-law, which was much longer, he opened his heart freely, and entreated him to discover the cause of his disgrace, and to represent to his majesty, but with all possible respect, that it was unjust, and in some degree injurious to his ambassador, to employ one of a foreign prince preferably to him: it was the ambassador from the duke of Florence whom he meant; and, indeed, he treated about these affairs at Madrid, either without the knowledge, or with the consent of the Spanish council, with so much authority, that it is not surprising Vaucelas should be deceived. He, therefore, entreated his majesty, by his brother-in-law, to restore him to his good opinion and confidence; and to believe, that no consideration of friendship or alliance should ever prevail upon him to disclose the secrets of his master to me, which was what I had myself recommended to him to observe with inviolable fidelity.

This letter gave the king a clear knowledge of those things, of which he had hitherto had but confused notions, and doubtful conjectures. His surprise was extreme; and, indeed, who could have
 7. imagined,

imagined, that one half of the council and court should dare openly to cross designs, which the king had avowed, without being apprehensive either of his resentment, or the infamy which, on any other occasion, must have attended such proceedings? Certainly this was a circumstance very uncommon in politics, and very different from all its maxims. They formed a party by methods, which, in any other case, tended to destroy it; to obtain their end, they pretended they had already obtained it; and secrecy was what they had least concern about: this, however, is to be understood only of their behaviour and the appearances they gave to things, and not of their designs, and the real methods they took to carry them on; for, after the king had returned Vaucelas such an answer as was proper to remove his suspicions, he could not, with all his industry, discover the bottom of this mystery, nor many particular circumstances which he endeavoured to find out. All he knew was, that, by these intrigues, it was designed to blast his majesty's designs against the house of Austria, by bringing him, either willingly or by force, into an union with Spain: that the Florentine ambassador corresponded with certain persons of the queen's household, whom he named, upon this subject; and with others of higher rank, whom his respect forbade him to mention: the rest he was wholly ignorant of.

Part of these curious circumstances which Henry now told me, I knew not before: this prince added, that he did not doubt but those persons, whom his ambassador would not name, were the queen and Villeroi. All the conversation they had with him tended only to this end; and the last advices he had received, relating to the double marriages, could have their rise only from them, since the persons employed in negotiating these alliances had, it was said, gone so far with the council of Madrid, as to declare, that they had the means in their power of obliging the king to consent to them, even with the

1609. clause that Spain, by giving the Infanta to the Dauphin, should reserve to itself all the rights that this marriage might afterwards invest her with*. This it was that astonished, and even terrified Henry. He might have been able to find a meaning in such strong and positive affirmations, if his designs against the house of Austria were as little known, and as undetermined, as they were three or four years ago; but that they should talk in this manner in a court where they could not be ignorant that he had already taken a quite contrary resolution, and that nothing would ever make him alter it while he lived; this it was that gave him, in spite of himself, the most dreadful apprehensions.

It is certain that all Europe knew he was endeavouring to ally himself to the duke of Savoy, by marrying the Dauphin to the heiress of Lorraine, that he might one day unite this state with France; and that it was partly to support this claim, that he attached to his interest, by so many acts of kindness and munificence, the German princes, who could assist him in this enterprise against all those who might attempt to traverse it. It was known likewise, that he intended to marry his second son to Mademoiselle de Montpensier†, and that they were already contracted; to give his eldest daughter to the prince of Wales, whom, upon my report, he preferred to all the princes of Europe; and, lastly, to bring about a marriage between his third son and the princess of Mantua, grand daughter to the duke of Savoy, to give him a reason or pretence for a footing in Italy. I believe it will be easily granted, that his majesty, by possessing Mantua and Mont-

* One would be surprized, after this, to find Siri, Mem. record. Vol. I. p. 187, advance, that Henry IV. wished for nothing so much as the marriage of the Dauphin with the Infanta of Spain. Nothing further is necessary to prove this stranger took his information of the transactions of the council of France,

at that time, from hear say only. I also think him still more blameable for that partiality he discovers, almost every where, against the person and politics of this prince.

† Mary of Bourbon, daughter and sole heiress of Henry duke of Montpensier, who died the year before.

ferrat,

ferrat, with a free entrance into these two little states, 1609. and by being assured of the duke of Savoy lately become possessor of the Milanese, and having a firm dependance upon the Venetians, our inseparable allies, nothing could have hindered him from giving law to all Italy, without, as this prince said, incurring the guilt of detaining unjustly the possessions of another.

Henry took so much pleasure in talking at length of his political schemes, that he forgot he was speaking to a man who knew them all as well as himself: but he returned again to the Spanish cabal; and to his own apprehensions, which their acting as if they were assured he had but a very short time to live, gave rise to. Whatever might be the foundation of this suspicion, it was strengthened and encreased, when he reflected, that innumerable prognostics were every where spread amongst the people, which fixed his death in the fifty-eighth year of his age, a prediction which was given out to be a divine inspiration, because it was zealously supported by a certain nun, then in great veneration. Pasithea, for that was the name of this devotee, had been some time in France: and when she left it, continued to correspond, by letters, with the queen. And it was this nun whom the faction made use of, to persuade that princess to be crowned with all the magnificence and all the ceremonies necessary to preserve to her the authority which, they said, she would have occasion for after the death of the king, which was not far off. They likewise talked publicly of bringing back this enthusiast.

This design, these discourses and presages, were continually in Henry's thoughts, kept his fears and suspicions always awake, and filled him with melancholy and dismay. "I do not desire this," said he to me, speaking of the coronation: and here I shall relate his own words, which are but too remarkable: "Neither, continued he, can I endure, that this Pasithea should return again to France. My

1609.

“ heart tells me, that some difaster will happen to
 “ me, or that the government will be thrown into
 “ disorder, if my wife obstinately insists upon her
 “ coronation, which, I am told, the Conchini’s ad-
 “ vise her to; and likewise continues her design of
 “ bringing back Pasithea. It is certain we shall
 “ quarrel on both these accounts; and if I discover
 “ more concerning her designs in Spain, I shall be
 “ provoked to the last degree against her.” I know
 not whether this prince was mistaken in his opinion
 of the queen his wife; but, I confess, I was struck
 with the reflection he afterwards made, that this
 princess did not proceed to such extremities with him
 on account of Mademoiselle de Montmorency, and
 other ladies, whom he had been fond of, from any
 motive of jealousy; but because her wicked coun-
 sellors persuaded her, that she had occasion for a
 pretence for being upon ill terms with the king, or,
 at least, to appear so: and gave the public this ex-
 cuse for want of a better: that myself, and every one
 else, had attributed to jealousy what was, in reality,
 the effect of a most refined malice. I make here
 very shocking discoveries, if it be true, that the
 queen’s confidants made use of this damnable arti-
 fice, to conceal and carry on designs too black and
 horrible to name.

But to convince me that I had no reason to doubt
 it, Henry reminded me, that upon so slight a foun-
 dation as that of speaking oftener than usual to the
 duchess of Nevers, and seeming pleased with her
 conversation, that lady was ranked among the num-
 ber of his mistresses the preceding year, and Made-
 moiselle de Montmorency in this, that the opinion
 of the court and the public, concerning his estrange-
 ment from the queen, might be still kept up, which
 it was necessary to do, at any price whatever: and
 from thence he concluded, that all his endeavours to
 put a stop to these reports would be fruitless; and
 that, if he should even resolve to see the princess of
 Condé no more, yet that would not silence the ma-
 licious

licious reports of people who had such strong reasons for preventing all accommodation between him and his wife. He declared, that he would never attempt to obtain any favours of the princess of Condé, to the prejudice of her honour; that, if he could not subdue his passion, he would, at least, restrain its effects, and respect the sacred type, which he had only formed to impose silence on his own wishes. He said this * with great seeming sincerity, and I should absolutely have relied upon this assurance, if I had not known how easy it was for a heart, tender and passionate as his, to be deceived by itself.

The king continued still to talk of the queen's counsellors, and, among others, of Conchini and his wife. He told me several circumstances concerning these foreigners, after which I could no longer look upon them but as monsters: he said, that they hindered the queen from eating of any thing that he sent her, and persuaded her to make a kitchen of their apartment. But why did his majesty inveigh thus alternately against these Italians and the queen, and do no more? I agreed with him, that the former deserved the severest punishments that could be inflicted; and that it was, indeed, very surprising, that this princess should make friends and confidants only of those persons, who, at the time

* The marshal de Bassompierre, to whom Mademoiselle de Montmorency was offered in marriage, amongst other discourses on this subject, relates the following from Henry IV. to him: "He answered me, with a deep sigh, Bassompierre, I will speak to thee as a friend. I am not only in love, but madly, desperately, in love with Mademoiselle de Montmorency. If thou shouldst marry her, I should hate thee: should she love me, thou wouldst hate me. It will be best to prevent the possibility of this becoming the cause of a breach of our friendship; for I love thee with great affection, and by inclina-

tion. I am resolved to marry her to my nephew, the prince of Condé, and to have her in my family: she shall be the comfort and entertainment of my old age, which is coming on. I will give my nephew, who loves hunting a thousand times better than the ladies, a hundred thousand livres a year to amuse himself with. I shall desire no other favour of her but her affection, without pretending to any thing further." Vol. I. p. 229. But in the end, this passion, as M. de Sully had foreseen, hurried Henry far beyond the bounds he had prescribed himself.

of

1609. of the Third Party, had given the most violent counsels against his life; or with others who were now not less his enemies. But what was I able to do for his deliverance, when he would not assist my endeavours? Would any one imagine that this long discourse, which I am persuaded every reader must feel himself interested in, should end only in repeated entreaties to be attentive to the arts of the Spaniards, and to undertake again to persuade the queen that she ought to sacrifice the Conchini's, and all the rest who disturbed their peace, to the assurance he gave her by me, that, if she required it, he would never visit any woman more, married or unmarried? "For it is not just," said this too good and too gentle prince, "that I should deprive myself of all my pleasures to satisfy her, unless she will do the same for me; or that I should consent to all her desires, while she continues to oppose all mine."

He permitted me to communicate to Sillery what I thought proper of this conversation; but not to Villeroi. "I will go to dinner," said he, for, indeed, it was very late, "and leave you at liberty to reflect on all I have said to you. I rose this morning by break of day; for I did not sleep all night, my mind was so much disturbed with these thoughts; nor should I have had better rest this night than the preceding, if I had not disclosed them all to you." His majesty then got into my coach, which I had ordered to be made ready for him, saying to me in the presence of a great number of persons who were in the court, "Farewel, my friend, I love you most affectionately; continue to serve me always thus, and remember all the conversations we have had together; for you are as dear to me as you can, or ought to, desire."

I believe I have formerly justified, by the most solid reasons, my perseverance in the opinion that all these plots, half foreign, half domestic, against his majesty's life, were neither real, nor greatly to be

be feared. I confess, however, that there were some moments wherein the force of my attachment to my prince would not permit me to hear, with indifference, all that was reported on this subject; nor could all my firmness hinder me from being terrified at what I knew to be a mere phantom. My mind was in this state all the time that Henry continued speaking to me, and after he had left me. It was pretty remarkable, that, during the whole time Henry staid with me, I listened to him with a profound silence; not uttering one word in answer to what he said. When I sat down to dinner, the agitation of my heart, and the dark suspense which clouded my mind, threw me into a dejection and faintness, which gave me a disgust to every thing that was placed before me. Certainly there was no necessity for Henry's desiring me to make reflections on what he had said to me: I gave myself up entirely to them. I carried my views as far as I was able, that I might foresee every possible danger, and trace the remotest cause for suspicion.

Yet, when this first tumult of my thoughts subsided, and more calm and settled considerations had taken place of those confused ideas that perplexed my mind, I was obliged to conclude, as I had always done, that it was Henry's apprehensions which had given rise to mine, and that his had no certain foundation. The council of Madrid, seeing that the king began to advance in years, and had already felt the attacks of some dangerous distempers, were willing to begin, in time, to make the queen and the French council relish a piece of policy, to which they might owe their security. The Spaniards found persons among the French who were strongly inclined to enter into their measures, and they made use of them to carry them on, that they might spare themselves the shame of making demands which were likely to be refused. If this was really the case, the Spanish council might reasonably be supposed

1609. posed to feign the contrary for a long time, and destroy or abate the ardour of the allies of France deceived by this appearance. There was nothing in this conjecture which did not agree with the character of the Spanish nation, established by an infinite number of the like proceedings. When Philip II. urged Monsieur the duke of Alençon to engage in the enterprize against Antwerp, an enterprize which ruined his affairs and blasted his reputation, this was all that he secretly promised himself by it, while, in appearance, he seemed to look upon it as a necessary stroke, to secure to that prince the sovereignty of the Low Countries, which was the bait he threw out for him. But this is a sufficient foundation for saying, that Spain was endeavouring to become mistress of the king's life? How many motives rendered the person and interests of this prince dear to the French nation, and even to those very courtiers whom, as it should seem, the Spaniards had engaged in their party? But to what excesses may not the human heart be carried when impelled by a violent passion? I am seized with horror at the very idea of actions, which these apprehensions must suppose persons to be guilty of, whose birth, education, and sentiments restrain them from atrocious crimes, and black attempts, although they leave them capable of some transient weaknesses. Ought I to account for my thinking and speaking thus, from the respect I owe to certain persons, the delicacy of my sentiments, or merely from the detestation I feel for wickedness, and the rectitude of my own heart? However that may be, it is certain, that, after all these reflections, I found my mind in the same calm situation it was before the king spoke to me; and if that gentleness of disposition, which he was too well known to possess, gave me, from time to time, reason to be apprehensive, that licentiousness would gain ground through a hope of passing unpunished, yet I did not fear any of those dreadful

dreadful blows * which bring with them a sudden consternation. 1609.

With regard to the other part of his majesty's discourse, it would have been more proper for this prince to have put an end, at once, to all reproaches from the queen, by beginning immediately to disengage himself from those attachments, which were but little suitable to his years; or, at least, in these fallies, to preserve his reason so far unclouded, as to avoid any attachment which might raise an amour into an affair of policy. Those gallantries which Henry had been engaged in, were always destructive either to his glory or his interest, and certainly to his quiet. However, in the princess of Condé love laid the most dangerous snare for him it had ever done: all the consequences were justly and greatly to be feared.

From these reflections it may be conceived what answer I made to the king, when, according to his orders, I waited on him five or six days afterwards:

* It is manifest, from reading the Memoirs of that time, that the small number of Henry IV's servants, who had an unfeigned affection for him, did not make use of all the precautions they might, to guard against the unfortunate accident that happened to him. Perhaps no solid answer can be given to those who may call this sentiment a judgment after the fact: and it must also be allowed, that if all the dark and secret plots, mentioned in an infinite number of places in these Memoirs, tho' nothing clear and positive touching them was ever discovered, were real, as the event seems to have proved, they could not fail of producing their effect, from the aversion this prince was known to have to severity and revenge. Those who from such examples draw arguments to turn the minds of sovereigns to despotism and

cruelty, merit the utmost degree of hatred from mankind.

The manner in which the duke of Sully here lays open the bottom of his thoughts and opinions of those plots, absolutely destroys a doubt some, who seriously considered the transactions of those times, have made, viz. That the duke was perfectly informed of whatever was intended against the person of Henry IV. but that having used his utmost endeavours to prevail on that prince to exert his authority to frustrate such designs, and finding that all the advice he had given Henry thereon, through his weakness, was always rejected, he was inwardly convinced this unhappy king could not avoid his cruel destiny: therefore, he determined not to increase his apprehensions without cause; but only to prevail on him, as soon as possible, to leave a city where he was exposed to such imminent dangers.

he

1609. he had left his chamber, and was gone through the great gallery to walk in the Tuilleries. We walked together, in the first gallery, for more than an hour. I removed his apprehensions, and restored him to his former tranquillity. He took a resolution to redouble his efforts to banish, if possible, from his council and court, all this Spanish policy; and promised to educate his children, and the young prince, who was heir to his crown, in his own maxims. To bind the protestants to their king and their country, by the closest ties; and endeavour, with equal solicitude, to banish all foreigners from any participation in affairs of state; these were, in his opinion, the two principal maxims to be pursued, and the most likely to secure the public tranquillity against the rise of all domestic troubles.

The natural inference from all this was, that Henry should make immediate preparations for the execution of his great designs; since to defer them to an impotent old age, would be to hazard their success: and accordingly, from this moment, his application to every thing, which might contribute to them, increased every day. He now came oftener than ever to the Arsenal, and I was almost every morning and evening with him at the Louvre, where my coach was allowed to drive into the court. The king granted this privilege, which only two other dukes enjoyed besides myself, to a consideration of my indisposition, which rendered walking on the stones very troublesome to me: he having almost always occasion for me to be with him, and, I believe, his friendship for me was another motive equally strong.

He went on to make me draw up views and memorials, to form a complete cabinet of policy, and of the management of the finances; and that nothing might be wanting to the completion of his scheme, which he now laid fully before me, he ordered that I should have a great desk or cabinet, contrived full of drawers and holes, each with a lock

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lock and key, and all lined with crimson sattin, in such number as to contain, in a regular disposition, all the pieces that were to be there deposited. The labour of this design was almost immense, though it does not appear such at the first glance.

To give a notion of it without repetition, the reader must image to himself all that has any relation, either near or distant, to the revenue, to war, to the artillery, to naval power, to commerce, to policy, to money, to mines; in short, to all parts of the government, either within the kingdom or without it, whether ecclesiastical or civil, whether exterior or domestic. Every one of these parts had its distinct allotment in this cabinet of state, which was to be set in the great closet of books in the Louvre, furnished with all possible conveniencies, that all the pieces under each of these heads, how numerous soever they might be, should appear at a single glance. On the side appointed for the finances, was a collection of different regulations, memorials of operations, accounts of changes made or to be made, of sums to be received and paid: a quantity, almost innumerable, of views, memoirs, of abstracts and summaries, more or less compendious. All this is more easily imagined than represented. All the letters of any consequence, which his majesty had written to me, were there filed and numbered, with an index pointing out the contents of each.

As to military matters, besides the accounts, lists, and memoirs, which were to shew the present state of the forces, there were all the regulations and papers of state, books treating of the arrangement of armies, plans, charts, geographical and hydrographical, both of France and of different parts of the world. These same charts upon a larger scale, mixed with different pieces of painting, were to be placed in the great gallery. Upon this his majesty and I conceived a thought of appointing a large room, with its first range to make a magazine of models,

1609. models, of whatever is most curious in machinery, relating to war, arts, trades, and all sorts of exercises, noble, liberal, and mechanical; that all those, who aspired to perfection, might improve themselves without trouble in this silent school, the lower apartment was to hold the heavy pieces of workmanship, and the higher was to contain the lighter. An exact inventory of both was to be one of the pieces of the great cabinet*.

Among the pieces relating to the ecclesiastical government, the most curious were a list of all the benefices of the kingdom, with the qualifications which they required; and a view of all the ecclesiastical orders, secular and regular, from the highest prelate to the lowest clergymen, with the distinction of natives and foreigners of both religions. This work was to be imitated in another relating to temporal government, in which the king was to see, to a single man, the number of gentlemen throughout the kingdom, divided into classes, and specified according to the differences of title and estate. In this scheme the king had the more pleasure, as he had, for a long time, formed the plan for a new order of knighthood, with an academy and hospital, only for the nobility; which institution, however glorious and useful, would have been no expence either to the people or the revenue†. He had proposed, at

* The death of Henry IV. put a total stop to the execution of all these designs, which deserve all the praise that can be given them. It is also apparent, that however defective this state-museum remained, it has, nevertheless, given birth to many noble and useful establishments, which have done honour to succeeding ministers. This book will furnish many other subjects for this reflection. See what has been said of this in the preface.

† This design of the duke of Sully admits of a further extension. It has long been a just cause of complaint, that the public method of

educating youth in the colleges of France, and in every part of Europe, still retains the barbarity of the most uncultivated times; the manner in which children are indiscriminately brought up, seems intended to qualify them only for the priesthood and the profession of theology. Latin and Greek, a system of rhetoric, fit only to deprave the taste and pervert the mind: a course of philosophy, which requires the application of two whole years to learn things so dry, tedious, and futile, that as much time would be necessary to drive them out of the mind, as were lost in acquiring the

the same time, and with the same advantages, to establish a camp, or standing body of six thousand foot, a thousand horse, with six pieces of artillery completely fitted out: and, to keep the same proportion in the naval force, twelve ships, and as

them, did not the manner and language, in which they are taught, themselves produce that effect: a course of law, that follows, of still greater length, and in which, with the same inconveniencies, the ground of the French law is what is least taught. We see here in what particulars this method of education consists; the unhappy consequences of which are, that at a time when reading a number of good books, upon all subjects, ought to form a taste for the arts and sciences, and teach the principles of them, young men are not only held from making a progress, but sent into the world, fraught with prejudices against all kind of literature, and full of disgust to all books, from having been tediously confined to so small a number; a disgust which, in many instances, is never removed, or removed only so as to admit of reading, for mere amusement, at an age in which the mind has abated of that vigour without which the maturest judgment is only as an useless talent.

Would it, therefore, be impossible to suppress, at least, one half of this prodigious number of Latin colleges, and convert the rest into such as are more adapted to the different professions for which youth are intended? to dedicate the first years of infancy to the learning the principal duties of religion and virtue? to read, write, and account well? to remove children from hence to other colleges, where, along with a slight acquaintance with the learned languages, for those who are not intended to make any great use of them, they should be taught to speak and write well in our own language, to fa-

miliarise themselves to its different styles, the epistolary in particular; and to understand the languages of, at the least, some of her neighbouring nations, with whom we have the most concern? to let these schools be succeeded by others, where the elements of the most necessary parts of inathematics, geography, and history, should be taught? where tactics, politics, laws, and commerce, laid down in a clear and concise method, should be made use of by the masters, to discover the bent of their pupils genius? and by the pupils to determine them in the choice of such studies as they are most disposed and attracted to by nature?

This short view of the subject can scarcely be deemed more than a very rough sketch of a better project. It, nevertheless, seems to me sufficient to point out the road which should be taken, to inspire youth with a zeal for true glory, labour, and application, to prevent their falling into idleness and debauchery; and, in short, to supply the state with the most excellent subjects of every kind. We every day see instances, that the knowledge of this truth determines many parents to prefer a private and domestic education for their children to the public one of the colleges. One cannot find fault with them for this, notwithstanding the advantages of the one over those of the other are so conspicuous. This consideration makes it only more to be regretted, that public education has not yet been carried to that perfection, amongst us, every one perceives it is capable of, and ought to be.

1609. many galleys, were always to be kept ready for a voyage.

As schemes of improvement and reformation, in every respect, had one of the chief places in this cabinet, besides the general plan by which Henry had contrived to change the face of all Europe, and which was laid out and particularized in the clearest and most extensive manner, there were distinct projects upon all sorts of subjects; in those, for instance, that related to war, methods were laid down for preserving an exact discipline, not only in time of actual war, but likewise in peace, by which the persons of the trader, manufacturer, shepherd, husbandman, would have been preserved inviolable from the soldiers. These four professions, by which the state may be truly said to be supported, would have been completely secured from all outrages of the nobility, by other regulations there laid down, with relation to the domestic administration of government. The distinction of conditions, and the extent of the rights of each, was so exactly laid down, that none of them would have been able, for the future, either to break from their subordination, or make an ill use of their power. The design of the papers, relating to the clergy, was to engage all the ecclesiastics to make such use as the canons require of revenues which, properly speaking, are not their own; to forbid them to join together livings of the yearly value of six hundred livres, or to have any one that produced more than ten thousand livres; upon the whole, to acquit themselves worthily of their employments, and to consider it as their first duty to set a good example.

I will not enter into more particulars, having had occasion to treat of these subjects in different parts of these Memoirs*. I shall likewise refer the reader

* This kind of silent school for the finances, war, commerce, &c. appears to me so happily contrived, that, in reality, I see no bounds to

the extension of the utility of it. What is the reason those, who are employed in the administration of the different affairs of the govern-

to all that he has seen, or shall see, in this book, upon the head of morality, and principles of just and wise governments; which had also their place in that collection. I cut off thus an account which I could have drawn to great length, because how much soever I might have diffused it, I could never have shewn the whole; at least not without tediousness and trouble, which would have been the greater as the account would have contained nothing absolutely new. Among other memorials relating to the finances, there was one upon the methods of raising money, which ought to be distinguished from the other pieces that are passed over without mention. By this scheme a hundred millions might be raised in three or four years. The only caution which I recommended, was not to make use of it without necessity; and to begin by the most easy and gentle, of the different ways there mentioned. They were laid down in the order which I shall here give them, tho' this is only a mere epitome of the plan*.

A new regulation was to be made with regard to the presidents of ports and havens, the officers of the Crown Lands, and Traites Forains, the

ment, are continually falling into so many mistakes? Because there being no positive rules, no written principles, they can consult, or whence they can either draw the information they ought to have, or correct their own ideas; they generally go on as chance conducts them, and often wander from the proper road. From hence, in every respect, it happens, we arrive so late at the intended point, and that very often we miss it entirely. No body or community can subsist for two or three ages only, without the help of some fundamental rules of conduct, which can, on every emergency, be resorted to by those who have the direction of it. How then can the State, which

comprehends all lesser communities, be conducted without them? How otherwise can those, who succeed in posts and employments, form any judgment, whether different circumstances require any alteration in the principles by which their predecessors were guided? For want of such rules, such permanent laws, many useful projects, which could not be carried into execution at the time of their invention, have perished with their inventors; and many bad ones, adopted by rashness and ignorance, have been perpetuated.

* There is another state of this account in Sully's Memoirs, Vol. IV. p. 99. I have reduced both these into one.

1609. tolls of rivers, and the customs paid at their mouths; with a new valuation of these claims, and a new creation of officers for the collection. Another regulation respected the masters that bought and sold cattle, wine, and other liquors, fish fresh and salt, wood, hay, and other provisions. Another related to the posts, in which were comprehended the post-masters and comptrollers, the masters of the king's stables, the couriers, bankers, and their commissioners, the stage-coaches*, the foot and horse messengers, and all carriages by land and water. When I read this article to the king, he said, "I commend you to La-Varenne, "and all the people of the stable: I will send them "all to you." Another scheme related to the markers of leather, the gaugers, the keepers of coffee-houses, the retailers, commissaries, assessors, and collectors, the keepers of lodgings to let, and many others. "Right, says Henry, you must do "all this for us; for not a day passes but I am "teized to make a grant of some or other of these." Another was upon the fourth and eighth aids, the entry and exportation of goods, whether from city to city, or from province to province; a creation of new officers for the magazines of salt, with an augmentation of taxes paid by them and by retailers; an augmentation of a crown upon every *minot* of salt, and other regulations respecting both the salt works and the sale of the salt which is got from them. "This, says Henry, I should like "well; but you must begin with your own government, or else we shall have great clamour." The *parties casuelles*, and the *droit annuel*†. The

* Post-horses and stage-coaches were first set up in the reign of Henry IV.

† This is the first and only time the *droit annuel* is mentioned in these Memoirs. This is the more surprising, because this law, by

which offices of justice, made saleable in the reign of Francis I. are made hereditary, was established under Henry IV. and therefore M. Sully was probably the principal author of it; and because when the edict for its establishment was

secretaries of the king were to be augmented to sixteen. A tax was to be raised upon salt, in the form of the *taille*, to make a fund appointed for the wages of the different officers, sovereign, and

made, nothing was heard but murmurs and complaints; that the purchase of those offices being, by means of this new law, raised to an exorbitant price, the nobility and people of merit would be totally excluded from them, and they could, for the future, fall to the share only of monied men; whereby the vexations, in the administering justice, would be increased, instead of being diminished.

Cardinal Richlieu, convinced by the good reasons M. de Sully had for acting thus, and which he had from that minister's own mouth, employs the first section of the chapter of his Political Testament, part I. to prove that neither the sale or inheritance of offices of justice ought to be abolished in this kingdom. "The late king, says he, by the advice of a very good council, in the time of a profound peace, and in a reign free from want, added the establishment of the right of inheriting of offices of justice to the right of selling them. It is not to be presumed he would have taken this step, without a mature consideration, and without foreseeing, as far as human prudence is able, the consequences and effects of it. Nothing contributed so much to enable the duke of Guise to render himself powerful in the league, against the king and state, as the great number of officers he had, by his interest, brought into the principal posts of the kingdom. I have been told by the duke of Sully, that this consideration was one of the chief motives with the king for establishing the *droit annuel*," &c.

After this, the cardinal de Richlieu maintains, that it is better those offices should be bought, than given to poor and indigent people, or be carried off by ambition and interest. "Instead, says he, of opening the door to virtue, it would be opened to cabals and factions, and the great offices would be filled with officers of low extraction, often better stocked with Latin than riches — Low birth seldom produces in men the qualifications necessary to form a great magistrate — Wealth is a great ornament to dignities, and they are so much heightened by exterior lustre, that one may boldly say, That of two persons of equal merit, the preference ought to be given to him who is in the most affluent circumstances: besides, the fear of losing all he is worth, will be no small restraint against misbehaviour to an officer, who has engaged the greatest part of his estate in the purchase of his office. — If," says he further, "offices could be obtained without money, commerce would be abandoned by many, who, dazzled with the splendor of dignities, would rather push themselves into offices at the expence of being ruined; than acquire wealth for their families by employing themselves in commerce."

He proves the particular usefulness of the *droit annuel*, from the consideration, that, without it, all the old officers would resign their offices, "When experience, and the ripeness of age, had made them most capable of serving the public." He ought, I think; to have added this further reason,

1609. fubaltern, particularly of the courts of juſtice: another reſpected the offices of lieutenants, controllers, and treaſurers, as well general as provincial, to be dignified with new titles, and ſet over the artillery, bridges, and cauſeways: another ſcheme reſpected the employments of bailiwicks, elections, and magazines of ſalt, to encrease them by new grants of wages and privileges, out of the money raiſed upon the taille, even to five ſous in the livre. To eſtabliſh new elections in Guyenne, Languedoc, Brittany, and Burgundy; the king foreſaw that, in theſe provinces, there would be much murmuring. New treaſurers were to be created in the offices of the finances, two at Sens and at Cahors, fix in Brittany, and three elſewhere. Hen-

That a young man who is intended for the enjoyment of one of thoſe poſts, will receive from his parents an education ſuitable to that ſtation of life they know he is deſigned to fill. The advice wherewith our author finiſhes this article, is to fix the value of theſe offices at a moderate price, "Which ſhould not exceed, ſays he, the half of what, from the extravagant humour of the people, is now given for them." He does juſtice to Henry IV. on this head: "The late king, ſays he, foreſeeing this evil, had inserted in the edict he made on this ſubject, clauses able to prevent it; not only excepting from the *droit annuel*, the offices of the chief preſidents, and the ſolicitors and attorneys-general; but moreover reſerving to himſelf the power to diſpoſe of thoſe offices which are ſubject to it, when vacant, on paying previously to the heirs of the poſſeſſors of them the price at which they ſhould be valued. The miſchiefs, which the *droit annuel* at preſent occaſions, do not proceed ſo much from any faults in

"the nature of it, as from the "reſtrictions this great prince had "ſubjected it to, having been imprudently taken off. If the edict had continued in the purity of its original institution, the value of offices would never have riſen to that exceſſive height it now is at. It is, therefore, only neceſſary to reduce the edict for the *droit annuel*, to the bounds of its firſt form."

Theſe words fully juſtify the duke of Sully, againſt all the imputations that have been caſt on him, on account of the counſel he gave Henry IV. touching the famous edict of the *droit annuel*. By virtue of this edict, the officers of juſtice were compelled to pay the ſixtieth part of the produce of their offices, which continued to be done every ninth year till 1709, when they were obliged to buy off this charge. See le Journal de L'Etoile, anno 1605, when this edict was made, De Thou, Mezerai, &c. The exceſſive number of the officers of juſtice, &c. is the principal and the true cauſe of all the other miſchiefs men of ſenſe find to ariſe from this edict.

ry said, that the number of these harpies should be rather lessened than encreased. 1609.

I proposed to create, in times of necessity, still a much greater number of offices among the treasurers, payers of rents and wages, receivers, and other officers of the tailles, secretaries and under-officers of the greater and little chancery, as well as to make new grants to the offices already in being: to appoint two principal commissioners over all the offices in the revenue. To particularize all this would take up too much room. The virtue of the king, representing to him, what was yet a mere project, as already put in execution, made him cry out against such a number of regulations, with which I agreed with him, that the people were not to be charged, but in case of great necessity.

To make an end, it was proposed, that sovereign courts should be erected in different cities, such as a parliament, chamber of accounts, and court of aids, at Lyons and Poitiers, suppressing the court of aids at Montferrand. As it was proposed that the aids should be extended to Brittany, a court of aids was to be created there, another at Bordeaux, with a chamber of accounts, a third in Burgundy, and a fourth in Provence. At this the king shook his head, and said not a word. I shall not repeat here what I have already said in many parts of these Memoirs. The aversion which I have shewn, with regard to whatever is stiled luxury, will make it thought, that all mad and superfluous expences were heavily taxed, and so indeed they were; and I shall honestly declare, that if my credit had been sufficient, besides cutting off a great part of those expences, which are inconsistent with the pressing necessities of the state, I should have suppressed, likewise, coaches and other inventions of luxury, except in such conditions of life as should have gratified their vanity at a high price.

1609. If it is necessary to lay this check upon luxury, of which the contagion has seized insensibly on all parts of the community, it is yet of more importance to stop its fatal consequences in those to whom it is not merely an occasion of negligence and softness, but a cause of corruption and ruin of families. Against this, provision was made by another scheme, placed likewise among the pieces of the cabinet of state; nor was it one of the least misfortunes occasioned by the untimely death of the king, that it buried in the grave with him so many useful designs at the moment of their birth.

According to another regulation, an edict would have passed to oblige the advocates and attornies-general of the parliament, to prosecute and punish, in an exemplary manner, all those, who, by the example of their dissoluteness and prodigality, injured the public, themselves, or other people; and to this they were bound, under penalty of answering themselves, for all the disorders which their negligence or connivance might produce. The way by which this was to be put in their power, without rendering their offices burdensome beyond measure, was to join with them, in every jurisdiction, three persons publicly appointed under the title of censors or reformers, chosen from three years to three years in a public assembly, and authorised by their office, to which was joined every kind of exemption, not only to lay before the judges informations against all fathers, or children of families guilty of dishonourable dissoluteness, and of superfluous expences, to a degree beyond their fortune; but likewise to force the judges themselves to punish these excesses in the manner prescribed: or, on failure, to call them to an account, as partners of the crime. Every prosecution was to be preceded by two warnings; but, at the third, an action was issued out, by which the person accused was put under tutorage, and saw the management of his affairs consigned to other hands,
who

who were to leave him only two thirds of his revenue, and apply the other part to the payment of his debts, and for the repairs of his estate : and this was to last till evident tokens were given of a real reformation, and a return to a more reasonable way of thinking and acting. From this law no condition was excepted ; and it is likely that no member of the community would have escaped this judicature, because it was itself answerable to a higher tribunal, and even the officers were fixed down to their duty by the dread of punishment equivalent to disgrace.

It would have been decreed, at the same time, to destroy this mischief in its original, that no person, of whatever quality or condition, should be allowed to borrow a sum which, compared with his estate, could be deemed considerable ; and that no other should lend it him, on pain of losing it, unless it was, at the same time, declared in a contract or obligation, to what use the money so borrowed should be employed ; what debts the borrower already had ; to what persons, upon what security, and what revenue was still left him ; as well to secure the debt as to maintain his family. With the same intention every father of a family, and every person who acted in the character of a father, were forbidden to give to one of their children, at settling them in the world, a larger fortune than justice allowed, upon a due consideration of their present means, and of the number of their children born or likely to be born, excepting only, that the authority of a father was secured, by allowing him to punish a vicious or unnatural son. But even in this case the offence was to be clearly proved, and this arbitrary disposition was to extend only to moveable goods, or their own acquisition.

This regulation of domestic œconomy, was but a piece of the general regulation with respect to the whole, and principally with respect to trials of causes, of which, I believe, the reader will be pleased with

1609. with an account; for the interest which every one has in seeing the innumerable abuses of the courts amended, is great, general, and universally known. The design of Henry was to impart it, at first, to the presidents of the different courts of justice, and the king's counsel in the parliaments; not to be disputed, but that they might give intelligence, and advise upon the supposition, that, concurring in the same design, they might discover something useful for the contraction of processes, and the destruction of the despicable art of chicanery. When these articles of regulation had been finally drawn up, according to the opinions which were thought best, his majesty was resolved to bring them into parliament, written with his own hand, to have them registered. The reader has already seen those which we had previously drawn up, which would probably have passed with little alteration.

In all suits between relations, counted nearly according to the canonical degrees of consanguinity and affinity, as well temporal as spiritual, the plaintiff was obliged, in the first place, to make an offer, from which he was not to depart, of referring all the differences to the arbitration of four persons, two chosen by each party, among their friends or relations; to name these two arbitrators on the spot, and to set down, in distinct articles, signed with his own hand, all his pretensions and demands, to which he was not allowed to make any additions. The same thing was to be done by the defendant, who had only a month allowed him to name his arbitrators. In another month the arbitrators were to be in possession of all the proofs and writings of both parties; another month was allowed the arbitrators to pronounce judgment; and a month after that was allowed to a superior arbitrator, to determine those points on which the voices had been equally divided: for all other points were to be considered as determined, and came not under the cognisance of the superior arbitrator. The same
regu-

regulation took place with the judges: they could not call back the main cause before them, nor make any enquiry into the fundamental question; but only give sentence according to judgment, good or bad, of the arbitrators upon the pieces laid before them. The sovereign courts had, in this respect, no higher privileges than ordinary jurisdictions: they could neither appoint a new enquiry, nor receive new proofs; and they were allowed only a month or six weeks to make a decree, which, if they exceeded that time, became void, and the judges themselves were condemned to pay the losses and damages of both parties. 1609.

The notaries were declared principal and competent judges of all contracts, transactions, obligations, transfers, grants, exchanges, sales, and leases; so that the opinion given by them, upon the sense of any contract brought before them, was provisionally established, notwithstanding any opposition or appeal; and the superior judges could not proceed, upon that sentence, in any other manner than as upon the sentence of a court of established judicature. The precaution, by which the knavery of the notaries was obviated, was, that first every act must have passed in the presence of two notaries, or of one notary, and two witnesses; in the second place, the contracting parties were obliged to bring each of them an advocate to the assistance of the notaries, whose advice the notaries were to take, and set down their names in the decisions. This act, and the sentence thus past, would never afterwards be falsified, if it was for a sum exceeding a hundred livres.

The summons could not be brought before any other judge than that of the defendant, and, as I have said, it was to contain all the claims of the plaintiff, in a manner so general, that, after that, nothing was to be done besides making an answer to the allegations of the defendant, under a penalty upon the judges, advocates, and solicitors. These

1609.

These advocates and solicitors were immediately to put the cause into such a state, that it might be determined; and till it was in such a state, they were forbidden to plead it, or bring it into court. The most considerable causes, those in which there were to be many writings and much evidence, could not be delayed more than three months; and here, as in all other bills of importance, bills of review were not allowed, and the only recourse was to letters patents dispatched in the council of state, and sealed with the great seal.

This regulation extended, in its particulars, to every single point of law, or custom that required to be rectified; such as the rules, which are already made mention of, upon the bad œconomy of the inhabitants, upon the common right of possession between husband and wife, and others, which I do not mention, with respect to perquisites, salaries, vacations, and other charges; as well as of the different subterfuges of chicanery, and all the abuses of the courts of justice; with respect to pleaders and writers, and many other things, of which every body hears loud complaints. The king could find nothing better to be done, than to refer all those particulars to the discretion and regulation of twelve men, picked out from amongst those who had most knowledge of business, and were men of the greatest wisdom and equity, who were to pursue the design in the following method: They were to write down, in the form of a memorial, all the formalities generally observed, without omitting any; in the next place, those which they thought the public good required to be left out: and, lastly, that which they thought best to substitute in their place. This work being so far finished, was to be exposed to a careful examination of three of the king's principal ministers and counsellors, who were to give their opinion about it; after which the king was likewise to declare his sentiments, and to give it all the authority necessary to make the

the future practices of the courts invariable and uniform.

1609.

When we had once begun to compose this general inventory of state, it became one of our most usual subjects of conversation, and the king appeared extremely impatient to have it made perfect. He sent one of the pages of his chamber for me one morning, when the weather was excessive hot; for, I think, it was in the month of June. I went directly to his closet; but I found he had just left it, and was already in the Tuilleries. I could not overtake him till he was got as far as the terrace, belonging to the capuchin friars, near a little door, through which he entered their chapel to hear mass. As soon as he saw me, at a distance, followed by that croud of clients who seem to guess every place where ministers are likely to be, "Go, said he, and tell the capuchins, that they must delay mass a little; for I must confer with M. de Sully, who is not a good mass-man: if he would take my advice as to that affair, I should love him still more than I do, and there is nothing which he might not expect from my friendship: however, such as he is, I have a tender affection for him, and receive great advantages from his services." His majesty then took my hand, which he held in his; and during two hours that we walked together, he talked to me only of some new memorials, which he asked me for, to add to his cabinet of state. At parting, he bid me aloud to be as exact and diligent as possible in this work. "Let there be few words, said he, and much matter. However, all must be plain and clear; for I would communicate some part of it to two or three of my servants, whose names I will tell you." I replied, that his majesty must give me a little time to execute this task, since he required method, brevity, and clearness at once. "Do it then as soon as you can, said Henry; you know
" my

1609. " my style, and I know yours; they agree well together."

I sent a message to the chancellor to let him know that I should not go to the council, and I shut myself up all the rest of that day, and part of the night, looking over books and papers; nor did I even sit down to supper. At seven o'clock, the next morning, the king came to the arsenal, attended by those persons whom he had mentioned to me the day before. These were Messieurs d'Ornano, de Boësse, Du-Bourg, de Lisle, de St. André, de Montpelier, de Pilles, de Fortia, de St. Canard, de La-Buisse, de La-Vieville. There were likewise Messieurs de Vitry, de Vic, de Nérestan, de St. Géran, La-Varenne, D'Eicures, Erard, and Châtillon, engineers, (for part of some affairs, relating to their profession, made the business) Bethune, my cousin: and, lastly, some foreigners, sent by Lesdiguières and the duke of Bouillon, and another, named Pucharnault, from La-Force. My closet was almost full. I had not been able to draw up the memorial in question, and the reason I give his majesty for it, who had asked for it immediately, was, that I had received some dispatches from La-Force, concerning a new disturbance raised by the Spaniards in Bearn, and the Lower Navarre, which it was necessary to answer immediately. I likewise writ to him, said I, about my nephew, and my niece Biron, whom they want to get divorced, which will be a fine piece of work; for she believes she is with child; and she really is so. " This, replied his majesty, is one of the strangest cases I ever knew, and the most ridiculous: I am deceived if ever you will be able to bring these people to reason." " Finish your dispatches," added this prince, after telling me, in a low voice, something he had to communicate to me, " and finish likewise our papers as soon as possible, and do not go to the council to-day." " That cannot be, Sir, I replied; for some affairs

" of

“ of consequence are to be laid before it, which
“ were not examined yesterday on account of
“ my absence.” “ Well, do the best you can,
“ said he, and adieu; for I am going to the Tuil-
“ leries.”

I laboured with so much industry at the memorial, that it was ready the next morning, when his majesty again sent for me to the Tuilleries. I gave my secretary these papers to carry, inclosed in a loose sheet of paper, and sealed. I found Sillery and Villeroi with the king, and we all four continued to walk, during almost two hours, discoursing upon the scheme of these memorials, with so much heat and action, that it was easily perceived by those at a distance, that we did not agree in our opinions. I was going away without taking notice of my packet to the king, when he called me back, and asked me for it. I shewed it to him in my secretary's hands, whom I afterwards ordered to present it to his majesty when he had an inclination to read it; but to take care that he brought it back with him sealed again, in the same manner it was now. What had passed in our conversation, made it necessary for me to use this precaution, which my secretary afterwards excused himself for to Henry, by alledging the positive commands I had given him. He followed the king, who went to the capuchins to hear mass, and took this opportunity to go to breakfast; for it would not have been easy to have found another. The king seeing him when he came from mass, “ Follow me, said he, to the Louvre, and do not go away from thence till I have spoken to you.” As soon as he came to his closet, he asked him for the packet. My secretary then told him the orders I had given him. “ Well, said his majesty, be it so: but, again I tell you do not leave the Louvre.” He then went into his library to leave the packet there while he dined. The court was not very full, because it was later than usual. The king hardly spoke

1609. spoke to any one, and appeared to be in deep thought, often striking his knife upon his plate.

My secretary believed he was going to be dismissed, when he saw the king rise from table and return to his closet, and heard himself called for about half an hour afterwards: but some princes and lords of the court coming in that moment, with whom his majesty seemed to have entered into conversation, he withdrew into a corner with La-Varenne and Béringhen. The place where they stood was very dark, so that it was not easy to perceive them, especially if they took a little care to conceal themselves, which they did, tho' without any design. Some minutes afterwards they saw Henry advance, with two or three of the company whom he had separated from the rest, and came so near them that they could hear what he said, although he did not speak very loud; they redoubled their attention, and they heard him say these words: "I am fatigued with walking so long this morning; for I have been conversing more than two hours, upon matters of great importance, with three men whom I have found as contrary in their opinions, as they are in their tempers and inclinations. Any other than myself, perhaps, would find it difficult to employ them; but I am so well acquainted with their whims, that I even draw advantages from their debates and opposition; which serves to make all affairs they are engaged in so plain and clear, that it is easy for me to chuse that method which appears to be best. You know them well enough without my naming them."

His majesty continued to draw the pictures of his three ministers in the following manner. I shall be candid enough not to make the least alteration in his words, even where myself was concerned, and it was with me that he began. "Some persons, said Henry, complain, and, indeed, I do myself sometimes, of his temper: they say he

" is harsh, impatient, and obstinate: he is accused 1609.
 " of having too enterprising a mind, of presum-
 " ing too much upon his own opinions, exagger-
 " ating the worth of his own actions, and less-
 " ening that of others; as likewise of eagerly as-
 " piring after honours and riches. Now, although
 " I am well convinced that part of these imputa-
 " tions are true, and that I am obliged to keep a
 " high hand over him, when he offends me with
 " those sallies of ill humour, yet I cannot cease to
 " love him, esteem him, and employ him in all
 " affairs of consequence; because I am very sure,
 " that he loves my person, that he takes an inte-
 " rest in my preservation, and that he is ardently
 " solicitous for the honour, the glory, and gran-
 " deur of me and my kingdom. I know also that
 " he has no malignity in his heart, that he is inde-
 " fatigable in business, and fruitful in expedients;
 " that he is a careful manager of my revenue, a
 " man laborious and diligent, who endeavours to
 " be ignorant of nothing, and to render himself
 " capable of conducting all affairs, whether of
 " peace or war; who writes and speaks in a style
 " that pleases me, because it is, at once, that of
 " a soldier and statesman. In a word, I confess
 " to you, that, notwithstanding all his extrava-
 " gancies, and little transports of passion, I find
 " no one so capable as he is of consoling me
 " under every uneasiness." I shall not here ex-
 " patiate upon the praise or blame which is con-
 " veyed in these words; but candidly confess, that
 " both the one and the other I may deserve. The
 " part of an honest man, upon such an occasion, is
 " to profit of both, that he may daily rectify his
 " heart and his manners.

" The second," pursued Henry, speaking of
 " the chancellor Sillery, " is of a compliant dispo-
 " sition, not easily offended, wonderfully insinua-
 " ting in his behaviour, and cautious in his actions;
 " he has a good understanding, is well versed in
 " Vol. IV. A a " sci-

1609. " science, and the business of his profession; nor
 " is he ignorant of others: he speaks well, with
 " method, and clearness: he is not capable of
 " forming any black designs against others; yet
 " he is extremely solicitous to accumulate wealth
 " and titles: he is never without news, or per-
 " sons in his pay, to make discoveries for him:
 " he is not of a humour to hazard, lightly, ei-
 " ther his person or fortune for others. His
 " virtues and his faults being thus balanced, it is
 " easy for me to use the former advantageously
 " for myself, and guard against the bad conse-
 " quences of the latter *.

" As to the third," continued the king, speak-
 " ing of Villeroi, " he has been long practised in
 " business; is thoroughly acquainted with the trans-
 " actions of his own times: he has, from his ear-
 " liest youth, been employed in state affairs more
 " than the two others: he observes great order and
 " regularity in the execution of his office, and judg-
 " ment in distributing those papers which belong
 " to his employment: he is generous, and his abi-
 " lities appear by his modesty and silence, and his
 " reluctance to speak in public†; yet he is obsti-
 " nate, and cannot bear to have his opinions con-
 " tradicted, which, he thinks, ought to serve for
 " good reasons: yet he will temporise a while, and
 " wait with patience till the faults of others have

* This chancellor did the state three signal services; by employ-
 " ing part of his wealth in retaining
 " the Swiss in our alliance; at the
 " peace of Vervins; and in nego-
 " tiating the king's marriage. " The
 " chancellor de Sillery was a man
 " of no learning. Henry IV. used
 " to say of him, and the consta-
 " ble, Henry de Montmorency,
 " that with his chancellor, who
 " did not understand Latin, and
 " his constable, who could neither
 " read nor write, he could exe-
 " cute the most difficult affairs."

Amelot de La-Houffaye, note 2.
 on the 195th letter of cardinal
 D'Ossat.

† Of all the places in these Me-
 " moirs, where M. de Villeroi is
 " mentioned, we ought to fix on this
 " as the principal one, to give us a
 " proper insight into the character
 " that minister, and chiefly from
 " the opinion Henry IV. had of it.
 " One single original account, like
 " this, deserves more credit than all
 " uncertain reports, or such as are
 " dictated by prejudice, aversion, or
 " a spirit of party.

" proved

"proved him to be in the right, which I have sometimes found my advantage in." This discourse of his majesty was addressed to persons of the first quality, who, although they had probably inclination enough to answer it, yet continued silent: and the king, some moments afterwards, perceiving my secretary, ordered my papers to be given him, which he brought back to me sealed, as I had desired. 1609.

Before we leave these general affairs of the finances, it is necessary to see what there is particular on this article for the present year. Denis Feydeau and his associates had got the general farm of the aids adjudged to themselves, by offering two hundred thousand livres a year more than the former farmers. I foresaw what really happened, that Feydeau would not be able to get in his money. Accordingly he presented a petition to his majesty, praying to be discharged of these two hundred thousand livres. I thought these farmers suffered no more than what they justly deserved, since no unforeseen accident had happened, nor had any obstacle been raised to their quiet possession; and what encreased my anger was, that the imprudence of these new-comers had deprived us of farmers, who were able to pay, to substitute others in their room who were insolvent. However, I prevailed upon his majesty to agree to this diminution under the title of a grant, without which they would be exposed to a bankruptcy, and the additional trouble of setting the aids again to sale. I judged only, that it ought not to take place till the 1st of January 1610, or, at least, till the first of October this year, that his majesty might not lose, all at once, the sum of four hundred thousand francs.

I caused Ferrand, first serjeant of the chamber of accounts of Paris, to be prosecuted. He was deprived of all the offices and commissions he exercised in this court, which his majesty, even before judgment was given, bestowed upon La-Font, who

1609. has been mentioned in these Memoirs: he was already intendant, and the king, as a farther reward for his fidelity, made him a present of the furniture of the conciergerie. M. the count of Soissons, and the other officers of the king's household, presented likewise a petition against the treasurer Pajot, which was sent to me. Puget, another treasurer of the exchequer, having, the year before, by the orders of his majesty, given a favourable declaration for Placin, formerly his clerk, which the king was guaranty for, and was deposited in my hands, his majesty wrote to me to give this paper to Puget, as he himself had engaged should be done, in case the suit, which was between these two financiers, could not be terminated without it.

His majesty, after first asking my advice, ordered a brevet to be granted to Mortier Choisy, by which he was declared released from the residue of his farm for fifty thousand livres; half to be paid immediately, and the other half in six months. He likewise ordered to be delivered to Zamet the acquittances of the two officers of arrears in Normandy, amounting to five thousand crowns, with the writings necessary for the payment, likewise of the sum of forty-nine thousand nine hundred and odd livres, for which he had given an assignment, the last year, upon the two sols and six deniers upon each measure of salt for a like sum, which Zamet had advanced him. Henry likewise gave twelve thousand livres to Montigny, six thousand to D'Escures, and two thousand four hundred livres to different pensionaries in Burgundy, which were delivered to them by M. Le Grand, and paid the president Tambonneau his pension for the last year. These circumstances I collect from letters his majesty writ to me with his own hand.

I received also some letters from the queen, one of which related to her releasing certain rights which had been made over to her, and were charged on lands belonging to queen Margaret, to whom they

they had been granted by brever. In another she desired that I would pay the wife of Conchini twenty thousand crowns, which the king, to oblige the queen, had given her upon the presidents established in the office of finances. Leonora having so great interest in the affair, had performed her part so well, that the money, as the queen told me, was ready to be paid. 1609.

The sums, the principal ones at least, which I carried to the account of Henry's private expences, are, first, twenty-two thousand pistoles, which on the 18th of January, he sent to tell me that he had lost at play, a hundred thousand livres at one time, and fifty-one thousand at another, which he lost likewise at play to Edouard Fernandes, a Portuguese. He ordered me to take up this last sum, of fifty-one thousand livres, upon sixty-thousand which was to return to him upon the office of advocate-general at Rouen, after the death of Marguerit, to whose children he gave the nine thousand remaining, in consideration of the good service he had received from their father in this parliament, and he gave the office to Des-Yveteaux*, a relation of the deceased; for play a thousand pistoles more. Henry, at first, sent only for five hundred; but Béringhen came afterwards for the other five hundred. I carried him a thousand pistoles for play likewise, when I went with the chancellor to wait on him at Fontainebleau, where he was taking physic after the Easter holy-days: my journey thither was occasioned by some dispatches which Preaux had brought from Jeannin. The king, beginning to reflect more seriously upon the excess to which he carried his passion for play, became sensible of the necessity there was to correct it, and often afterwards promised me that he would moderate it, if he could do no more. He continued to lay out great sums upon buildings,

* Nicholas Vauquelin Des-Yveteaux.

1609. and sent Zamet * from Fontainebleau to inspect them, when he could not go himself. I find likewise, in my accounts for this year, an acquittance from Marcadé, for four thousand seven hundred and forty livres, for eleven hundred and sixteen pearls which Henry had made a present of to Mademoiselle de Vendôme, his daughter; another of three thousand to Mademoiselle Des Effarts; and another of three hundred livres to Saubion, her servant.


The chancellor and I were directed to name commissioners to treat with those of the duke of Lorraine, about settling the limits of the country of Meulin, which every day gave rise to some new contests. I sent the comptroller of the fortifications to Calais, with a sum of money to repair the damage which had been lately done by the sea to the Risbank. I was informed of it by vice admiral De-Vic, who could have wished that the government had been at a more considerable expence for this town, and who formed several schemes, as well for its conveniency and security, as to prevent the inundations to which this place and the neighbouring parts were exposed.

There never was a more useful law made †, than that which appeared this year against the fraudulent bankrupts: it decreed, that such bankrupts should be punished with death, as being robbers of the public; that all donations, grants, sales, and assignments made by them, to their children, heirs, friends, and supposititious creditors, should be annulled, and those that accepted of them punished as their accomplices if it should appear to the judges that all this was done with an intention to defraud the true creditors. By this regulation all persons were forbid, on pain of being prosecuted as accom-

* This rich officer, at that time, took the titles of baron of Murat and Billy, counsellor of the king in all the councils, governor of Fontainebleau, and comptroller of the queen's household. He died at Paris in 1614, aged about 65, leaving one son, a camp-

marshal, who was killed at the siege of Montpellier; and another, bishop of Langres: he had those sons by Magdalen Le-Clerk Du-Tremblai, and got them legitimated.

† Merc. Franc. and other historians, Anno 1609.

plices likewise, to give a retreat to these bankrupts, 1609.  their securities, clerks, or factors; as also to receive any of their goods, papers, or effects; or to afford them the least assistance: all persons were permitted to detain them without a warrant, and to bring them to justice, notwithstanding any arret and custom to the contrary: and, lastly, the true creditors of the bankrupts were forbid to make any agreements or contracts with them, or any persons acting for them, upon pain of losing their debts, and even of having a criminal prosecution commenced against them. An action at law was the only way left open to them. This appeared to me to be almost all that could be done to secure the public trade and tranquillity, both equally interested in an abuse which was now become very common.

This edict was followed by another against duels, which I had long earnestly solicited for. An extraordinary council being assembled for this purpose in the first gallery at Fontainebleau, his majesty, who was resolved to examine into this matter thoroughly, desired to know the origin of the different forms and customs used in duelling. His counsellors gave him no cause to compliment them upon their erudition: all remained silent, and myself, as well as the others; but with such expression in my looks, as made the king easily perceive that I only wanted his command to speak. His majesty then turned towards me, and said, "Grand master, by your looks, I guess, you know more than you pretend to know; I entreat; nay, I command you to tell us your thoughts." I still refused through respect; but being again prest to declare my sentiments, I made a speech, which I shall not repeat here, since it contained nothing more than what I formerly said in these Memoirs, when I treated that subject. I took care to send the edict against duels * imme-

* This edict, which obliges those who have been offended in point of honour to have recourse to the marshals of France, or their lieutenants, for reparation, inflicts very severe penalties; infamy, loss of nobility, and even death. P. Matthieu, vol. II. book iv.

1609. diately into my government, and to have it observed there with the utmost strictness.

To this account of the affairs of the government, it will not be improper to add some intrigues of the court. Upon the advices I have mentioned of certain factions in several provinces, the king resolved to send thither some person in his name, and N—— was the man he pitched upon for this purpose, one who will neither be pleased nor offended at seeing himself mentioned here. I could not approve of this choice, knowing that the hatred he bore to several persons there, would induce him to lay crimes to their charge they never had the least intentions of committing. I, therefore, told his majesty, that, if N—— was the person employed by him, I would send no one thither from myself, because I did not chuse to act with such an associate. N——, disappointed of this employment, resolved to revenge himself on me by every method he could think of, and offered those courtiers, whom he knew to be my enemies, to serve them as the instrument of all their designs against me.

Accordingly he went one day to the marquis de Coeuvres, and after obliging him to secrecy, it being, he said, his zeal only which induced him to make the discovery, he affirmed, that I was gone to the parliament under pretence of having some business there; but, in reality, to withdraw from the register's office the letters of legitimation of M. de Vendome, which had been carried thither to be registred in parliament. De Coeuvres went immediately to make this report to the person whom it most concerned, and M. de Vendome went also as hastily to complain of it to the king. His majesty asked him the name of the person who had given him this information; but M. de Vendome, without discovering the impostor, answered for the truth of his report in such a manner, that the king could no longer doubt of it; and when he saw me the next morning, asked me what business I had at the parliament.

liament. I replied (which was true) "That I had gone thither to take copies of some papers in the registers for which I had occasion." "Was it for any thing that concerned my son de Vendome?" returned Henry. "No, Sire," said I; and, surprised at the manner in which he spoke to me, "why should you think M. de Vendome was concerned in it?" "I know why," replied this prince coldly. Two or three other words, equally mysterious, which escaped his majesty, gave me to understand, that he had some suspicion in his mind. I entreated him to tell me what it was, which he did; and I soon convinced him that calumny had here played its usual part.

That same day, in the afternoon, the king being at the house of the countess of Moret, a little boy came there with a packet, which he delivered to the first footman he met. Madame de Moret, to whom it was brought, found a billet, in which the same informations were given her, concerning her children, as De Coeuvres had received with regard to M. de Vendome. She began to weep, and the king desiring to know the reason, she gave him the billet to read. Henry asked for the boy who had brought it; but he was not to be found. "Madam," said he to the countess, with a thoughtful and gloomy air, "there is some malice here on one side or the other." He then endeavoured to make some discoveries concerning the author of these stories. The boy was soon found out; and, by what he said, the king guessed that N—— was the person: for having in vain desired De Coeuvres to name him, he named him himself; and De Coeuvres, in his surprise, could not deny he was the man. However, he gave immediate notice to N—— of what had happened. N——, who saw that this affair was likely to become very serious, went to Villeroi, and, throwing himself at his feet, entreated him to support him against the effects of my resentment. Villeroi, who thought there might be some danger in defend-

1609. defending him, at least if he did it openly, would not make him any promise; but contented himself with hazarding, when any opportunity offered, a few favourable words for N-----, which his majesty received with such an air, as made him repent of his complaisance for that impostor.

Henry had just then discovered two other instances of this man's malignant disposition, which shewed that he was capable of failing in respect to majesty itself: one was, that he had had the imprudence to propagate publicly a feigned tale of an amour between Henry and a certain girl, whom he named, and the malice to inform the queen of it; and the other, that he had encouraged father Gonthier, a jesuit, to continue his outrageous manner of preaching, which had already made some noise, by assuring him, that one of his sermons, which he quoted, and which was one of the most furious, had been generally admired and praised by the lords of the court, naming, in particular, the marshals de Briffac and D'Ornano*. This lie was unfortunate enough

* "Father Gonthier, a jesuit, " in the presence of the king, who " attended his sermons in St. Ger- " vaise's church, on Friday, Christ- " mas day, Saturday, and Sunday, " made continual declamations a- " gainst the huguenots, whom he " several times called *vermin*, *scoun- " drels*:" and speaking of the new articles of their confession, in which they call the Pope antichrist; " If " it is true, Sire, says he, that the " Pope is antichrist, on what foot- " ing stand your marriage? Where " is the dispensation for it? What " will become of M. the Dauphin?" Marshal D'Ornano said one day to the king; " If any jesuit had dared " to preach before me at Bour- " deaux, as father Gonthier did in " your majesty's presence, I would " have ordered him to be thrown " into the river the moment he " came out of the pulpit." Mem. Histoire de France, anno 1609.

All the sermons of those times are filled with expressions, whose boldness and singularity, not to call them by a worse name, would be extremely shocking to us at present. The heretics were outrageous in their satires, and too often the preachers, in their sermons, launched out into the most extravagant declamations. A cotemporary historian, Peter Matthieu, book iii. nevertheless, gives this testimony of the jesuits: " That there was " more regularity, modesty, gra- " vity, and moderation, in their " sermons, than in many others." Sauval also speaking of father Gonthier's preaching, greatly commends his eloquence and apostolic zeal. He relates, that Henry IV. being one day at the same church of St. Gervaise, when father Gonthier was preaching; that preacher, justly scandalized at the irreverence with which he saw the marchione's

for N——; for these two gentlemen being present at the reprimand the king gave father Gonthier, they likewise spoke to the father, and charged with insolence and falshood, the person who had dared to say, they had approved of a discourse so full of impertinence. All this so irritated Henry against the impostor, that when I went the next day to desire he would do me justice, "I have discovered the whole mystery, said he to me; it is the malicious wit of N—— that has invented all these stories; but, for your sake, I banish him from the court:" and the order was accordingly signified to him. This affair was much talked of, as may be well imagined: I confess I was ten whole days in perplexity and uneasiness about it.

This, however, was a trifle compared with the confusion which the prince of Condé occasioned. The marriage of this prince, with Mademoiselle de Montmorency, was so far from stifling the reports at court of an intrigue between Henry and the princess, that it did but the more encrease them, as I had always apprehended it would. Two thousand crowns given by his majesty for wedding cloaths for the young lady; jewels to the value of eighteen thousand livres, purchased for her, by Madame D'Angoulême, of Messier a jeweller, who lived upon the bridge Au-Change, and whose receipt, of the 29th of May, was publicly known; a great number of other presents and gratuities in money, given to the prince of Condé on account of this marriage, were considered as so many proofs of the correspondence between the king and princess, al-

of Verneuil, and other ladies of her company, talk, laugh, and endeavour to make his majesty laugh, turned towards that prince, and said to him; "Sire, will you never leave off coming, accompanied by a seraglio, to hear the word of God, and of giving so unedifying an example in this holy place?" That the king, instead

of sending the preacher to the bastille, as all those ladies begged of him to do, went again the next day to hear him preach; and that meeting with him as he was going into the pulpit, he told him he was obliged to him for his correction; and that he had nothing to fear: but only desired he would not reprove him again in public.

though,

1609. though, to speak candidly, there was nothing in all this which might not be justified. But as I would avoid, likewise, falling into the other extreme with the flatterers of this prince, who affected to maintain in public, that he had not the least regard for the young princefs, I continue firm in my first sentiments. This, indeed, was a medium between both, which very few persons kept. The queen and the prince of Condé, who were most concerned in the affair, being inflamed with rage at all these reports continually whispered in their ears, soon put the whole court into an uproar. All my endeavours to calm the queen were fruitless: she was quite furious, and the prince, who did not restrain himself from shewing his discontent publicly, meditated from that moment the imprudent step which he took some time afterwards.

Henry received the first notice of his design, in a billet which was sent him to Fontainebleau, whither he went to pass the Easter holy-days, and he dispatched it immediately to me at Paris. This was the purport of the billet: That the prince, accompanied by his physician, had left Fontainebleau the day after Easter, and came to lodge at Paris in the house of a Spanish pensionary; that all the night had been passed in deliberating, with great agitation on the prince's side, whether he should not make his retreat instantly to Spain, which his host had prevented him from doing, by making him sensible of the fatal consequences that would attend such an action; that the next morning a purse of one thousand doubloons was brought to the prince, who still lay concealed at that house, with an assurance that the remainder, which was apparently solicited for by his physician, should be sent him in a little time. This man has been accused of managing the whole affair, because he had already laboured to get the marriage broken off, and make up a match between the prince and Mademoiselle de Maïenne. He was likewise, it was said, connected with another physician, a Genoese,

noëse, who had been with Don John, and six weeks before was gone to the count Spinola, at the Hague, from whence he was to go to England. This billet agreed with another, which had been sent to Beringhen, already mentioned, where it was said, that the prince of Condé had obtained letters from the king of England to the States of Holland. 1609.

All these informations, which Henry was entreated by the authors to keep very secret, could not make him believe the prince was capable of committing so great an error. His majesty came to Paris at the beginning of May, and, after a short stay, returned to Fontainebleau, whither M. the prince followed him. It is certain, that his behaviour, and his discourse in public, gave room to believe that he only went to brave his majesty. My friend, said Henry in a letter to me, dated June the 12th, "M. the prince is here; but he acts like a man possessed: you will be angry and ashamed at the things he says of me: I shall lose all patience with him at last, and I am resolved to talk to him with severity." The king, to punish him, ordered me not to pay him the April quarter of his pension, and to give refusals to his pourveyor and all his creditors, who, knowing the gratuities which his majesty had bestowed upon this prince on occasion of his marriage, addressed themselves to me as to the dispenser of them. "If this does not keep him within bounds, said his majesty, we must think of some other method; for he says the most injurious things of me. We will consider together what is to be done, when you come hither*."

* The Memoirs for the History of France speak of this in the following manner: "The king being desperately in love with the princess of Condé, set every body at work, even her husband's mother." The prince complained of this, and desired leave of his majesty to retire with his wife, to one of his country houses. The

king refused his request in a rude manner, and went so far as to affront and threaten him. It is said, the prince made a haughty reply, and made use of the word *tyranny*; that the king, laying hold of that word, said, "I never in my life was guilty of an act of tyranny, but when I caused you to be received for what you were not."

Mon-

1609. Monsieur the prince fixed upon me to impart his grievances to: but in what quality is not easy for me to declare; since, if I may flatter myself that my advice was not indifferent to him, yet on the other hand, I may have reason to suspect, that, in those assurances of respect and attachment with which, to a person of his rank, one would soften the freedom of disapproving his conduct, he sought for a pretence to advance afterwards with some appearance of probability, that I did not oppose his design of leaving the kingdom. It is this which obliges me to give an account of the conversation I had with this prince at my house, whither he came on Wednesday afternoon, when he knew I was not gone to the council.

He entered my closet, bearing in his countenance all the marks of the disturbance of his mind. I was not surpris'd that, without any other prelude, he began to talk to me of the reasons he had to complain of the king. In my answer, I reminded him of the many obligations his family in general owed to the king; and added, that himself in particular had received favours from his majesty, which not only deserved that he should sacrifice to them a little resentment, conceived upon a mere suspicious and an imaginary wrong, but also, a just discontent. The prince, who could not relish my arguments, entertained me with I know not how many designs, he supposed, Henry had formed against him, all which I attributed to the inquietude of his mind, and to suspicions carried too far: and these I thought to dissipate, by representing to him, in such a manner as left him no room to doubt of my sincerity, that his majesty was so far from having a design to pro-

The prince was in a passion with his mother for suffering herself to be employed as an instrument to corrupt the chastity of his wife. It was said, that the marchioness of Verneuil, who commonly spoke to the king not as to her master, but

as she would to her footman, bantering on this subject, said to him: "Are not you a sad wretch, who
" want to lie with your son's wife?
" for you know you have told me
" he is your son?"

ceed

ceed to any extremities with him, that he would reflect that he was his near kinsman, only to add to that natural sweetness with which he treated every body, a particular friendship and distinguishing respect for him. And I remember, that instead of allowing, through complaisance for the prince, that Henry was capable of *oppressing an innocent person*, words which were indeed often repeated to me, I told him plainly, that it was commonly those who were most guilty that abused the word innocence, notwithstanding which they could not avoid meeting with the punishment they merited.

M. the prince, who, after so free a speech, ought to have been upon his guard against me, did not scruple to declare that he was resolved to leave France. These imprudent words appeared to me as the effects only of an inconsiderate rage; and, if I opposed him with firmness, it was because I thought, that, on these occasions, firmness ought to accompany the advice which is given. I told him, that I could not believe he was capable of betraying, in such a manner, his king, his country, his honour, and his duty; that the kingdom, and even the court, was the only fit residence for princes of the blood; that every where else their grandeur sullied their reputation; that it was even imputed to them as a crime to remain too long in any other place, without having obtained his majesty's permission for it. The prince replying that such a restraint suited neither with his birth nor rank, I answered, that the laws of the state obliged the children and brothers of the king to as great, or, perhaps, greater strictness of conduct, than the meanest of his subjects: and this I proved to him by examples drawn from the History of Lewis XI. the late duke of Anjou, and of Henry himself. It was not in this manner that the prince wished to hear me speak. I perceived that his intention was now, by giving a new turn to his words, to convince me that I had brought him over to my opinion; but, from so sudden an

alte-

1609. alteration, I drew the most certain proof, that he had really taken that very resolution which his last words would have persuaded me he had absolutely given up.

I had so little doubt of it, that when I was informed the prince, after he quitted me, appeared to be wholly calmed; that he had even complained to the queen of the report that was spread of his having a design to quit the court, and assured this princess that he had not the least intention to do so, adding these words, "I am very well contented with his majesty;" and spoke in the same manner almost publicly; I would not defer a moment waiting on the king, whom I assured, after faithfully relating all that had passed between the prince and myself, that he would not be in France eight days longer. Henry was ready to treat me as a madman, there was so little appearance, he said, that he could live in a foreign country like a prince, without the assistance he received from him; since it was impossible he should be able to carry away any of his effects so privately, but that he might be easily prevented. To these reasons his majesty added what the prince had just said to the queen. All that you tell me, Sire, replied I, cannot make me alter my opinion; but rather confirms me in it the more: you may be angry with me, and accuse me of obstinacy; but time and the event will shew you that I am not mistaken. I see several persons, pursued I, who are in the secret, and who deceive you, although they are more obliged to you than the prince: but this ought not to seem surprising, since you help to deceive yourself. "You do not name any person," said his majesty, supposing that it was the queen's domestics of whom I spoke, "but I know whom you mean." This was not very difficult to discover. There were more, beside the king and I, who saw that the cabal played a strange part here; for they not only spread a thousand false stories about the king and the princess of Condé through the court, affirming

affirming them to be absolutely true, which was indeed the effect of their ordinary malice; but to these they added that detestable artifice, not easy to be described, by which they made these falsehoods serve to render the king in the highest degree hateful to the queen, and forced this princess to abandon herself entirely to their conduct: hence proceeded those plots to which, without her knowledge, they dared to give the authority of her name; hence the motives of a thousand new instances, not to defer the ceremony of the coronation any longer.

There was but an interval of four days between the conversation I had with the king, on the subject of the prince of Condé, and the flight of that prince. On the 29th of August *, at eleven o'clock at night, Praslin entered my chamber just as I was going to bed; he told me, that the king wanted me, and that I must attend him immediately. "What can the king mean, cousin?" said I, in the first emotions of my anger, and without giving him time to explain himself, "*pardieu*, he torments me to death:

* The last of November, not the 29th of August, as these *Memoirs* erroneously say, "The prince, says *marechal de Bassompierre*, left the court and went to Muret, which he quitted, accompanied by *Rochefort* and *Touray*, a valet de chambre, who carried the princess his wife behind him on horseback, *Malementielle Du Certeau*, and a chamber-maid called *Philippe*, and went to *Landrecy*. The king was at play in his little closet when first *D'Elbene*, and afterwards the *chevalier Du Guet*, brought him the news of it. I was nearest to him. He said to me in a whisper, My friend *Bassompierre*, I am undone: this man has carried his wife into a wood, I do not know whether with design to kill her, or to carry her out of France: take care of my money, and go on with the game, whilst I go to

learn more particular news. Every body gave over play, and I took an opportunity of returning the king his money, which he had left on the table. I went to him, and never in my life saw any one so distracted, or in so violent a passion." *Bassompierre* afterwards relates what passed in the queen's chamber, and the advice *M. de Sully* gave the king, in the same manner these *Memoirs* do. *Henry IV.* gave such violent signs of grief and despair on the princess of Condé's being thus carried away, that some ill-informed writers, such as the author of *l'Histoire de la Mere & du Fils*, have advanced, that the war he was going to enter upon in *Flanders*, when he was assassinated, was partly intended to oblige the archduke to deliver up that princess to him. See also *Mezerai* and other historians.

1609. " I cannot live; I cannot sleep. I must," pursued I, with great impatience, supposing this summons was upon an account which, for very good reasons, I might dispense with myself from obeying, " I must rise at three o'clock to-morrow morning to read letters and accounts, which I have received, and must be answered immediately: I must make a memorandum of all that I am to do to-morrow, of what is to be transacted by the council, of what I am to say to the king, what directions I am to give my clerks, my secretaries, and all those who have any offices under me: I cannot get all this done before eight o'clock in the morning, at which hour I go to the council; judge then whether I have any time to lose, and if I can go now to the Louvre, from whence I know it will be impossible for me to return till two or three hours after midnight: I shall have no leisure for employing myself in my closet; for the whole day will be taken up in giving audience, and in conferences with the clerks of accounts and other officers, who have business with me." " I know all this, said Prassin, nor is the king ignorant of it; for he said aloud, before all the company, that I should make you angry by coming for you at such an unreasonable hour, and at the only time when you have leisure to take any rest to relieve both your body and mind: but there is no help for it, monsieur, you must come: this is an affair that concerns him nearly, and he is persuaded, that, if there is any remedy for the evil, it is you only who can discover it. The man you know of, is fled, as, the king said, you foretold; and, what is worse, has taken the lady along with him." " Oh, replied I, is this the business then for which he has sent for me; truly there will be a little anger on his side: for, I doubt, we shall not agree in our opinions." " I know," added I, that Mars and Venus are often in very good intelligence; yet, if we would have good

" success

“ success in affairs that depend upon the former, the
 “ latter must sometimes yield to him; and this
 “ possibly may furnish us with some good reason
 “ for hastening our business: therefore let us go,
 “ cousin; I am ready.”

When I came to the Louvre, I found the king in the queen’s chamber, walking backwards and forwards, with his head reclined, and his hands folded behind his back: with the queen were present messieurs de Sillery, de Villeroi, de Gêvres, de La-Force, La-Varenne, and some others, leaning against the hangings, and at such a distance from each other, that they could not converse but aloud.

“ Well,” said Henry, taking my hand as soon as I entered, “ our man is gone, and has carried all
 “ with him: what say you to this?” “ I say, Sir,”
 “ replied I, that I am not surprised to hear it; and,
 “ after what he said to me at the Arsenal, I expected
 “ this flight, which you might have prevented if
 “ you would have believed me.” “ I knew you
 “ would say this, replied the king; but we must
 “ not speak of things that are past: let us think
 “ only of the future, and let us consider what is to
 “ be done now: give me your advice; for I have
 “ yet applied to no other person.” “ Sire, returned
 “ I, I am not yet sufficiently well informed of all
 “ the circumstances relating to this affair, and have
 “ not reflected as much upon it as is necessary I
 “ should: I entreat you to let me sleep upon it, and
 “ to-morrow I will attend you, and will endeavour
 “ to give you the best advice I can: but, if you
 “ press me now, I shall say nothing to the purpose;
 “ for my judgment is not very clear at present.”
 “ No, interrupted his majesty, this is not true; I
 “ know you too well: tell me your thoughts im-
 “ mediately.” “ It is impossible, Sir,” said I; and,
 “ if you persist in pressing me so earnestly, I repeat
 “ it again, I shall say nothing to the purpose: I
 “ beseech you excuse me till to-morrow.” “ In-
 “ deed I will not, said Henry; you must speak

1609.

“now: therefore tell me what I should do.” “No-
 thing at all, Sire,” I replied; for I was obliged
 to speak. “How! nothing?” exclaimed he; this
 “is not advice.” “Pardon me, Sire, resumed I,
 “it is, and the best that you can follow: there are
 “maladies which require time rather than remedies,
 “and I believe this to be of such a nature. “This
 “declamation is unseasonable,” said Henry with
 the same impatience; “I must have reasons. Are
 “these yours?” “I have no good ones, Sire, an-
 “swered I, if these are contrary to your inclina-
 “tions. In my opinion, however, the affair does
 “not admit of much doubt about what should
 “be done: it is necessary to wait for further par-
 “ticulars, before any thing is undertaken, that
 “you may fix upon the best expedients, and till
 “then, I think it ought to be talked of as little
 “as possible; nor should it appear of any con-
 “sequence to you, or capable of giving you the
 “least uneasiness.”

I supported this opinion by a reflection which
 seemed to me absolutely just; and this was, that the
 good or bad reception which the Spaniards would
 give the prince, depended upon the impression his
 flight made upon the king; so that it was not im-
 possible but that they would receive the prince with
 contempt, to spare the expences they would other-
 ways be obliged to, especially if we could make
 them entertain a suspicion that this flight of the
 prince of Condé's was a thing concerted between his
 majesty and him. “What,” said the king, shak-
 ing his head, “would you that I should suffer a
 “petty prince, my neighbour, to give a retreat
 “contrary to my inclinations to the first prince of
 “my blood, without shewing any resentment of it?
 “This is a fine advice indeed! I shall not follow
 “it; Praslin shall set out*, in a few days, to fig-

* “Praslin actually went; but “nations on any occasion what-
 “the archduke made answer, that “ever; and that he would, on no
 “he had never violated the law of “consideration, begin in the case

“nify

“ nify my intentions.” “ I told you, Sire, said I, 1609.
 “ that, not having considered this affair, I should
 “ say nothing to your satisfaction. Another thought
 “ has just occurred, which will not be of any pre-
 “ judice to what you propose to do; but I cannot
 “ tell it you till two days hence: however, I am
 “ sure you will be better satisfied with it than my
 “ first proposal.” His majesty consented to this de-
 lay, and, embracing me, said, “ Return home and
 “ go to bed; sleep till eight o’clock: for I had ra-
 “ ther the council should not be held to-morrow,
 “ and my ordinary affairs be postponed one day,
 “ than your health should suffer the smallest preju-
 “ dice.”

I was not deceived in my conjecture, that the other proposal I had to make to his majesty, concerning the prince’s retreat into Flanders, would please him better than the former. He came to the Arsenal three days afterwards to know it. We continued shut up an hour in my closet; but it is not proper to reveal what passed there on the subject. The king, at parting, said aloud, “ Adieu, my friend; stay at home and finish my business: but, above all, labour for the success of the proposal you have made me; for I approve of it much more

“ of the first prince of the blood-
 “ royal of France: and soon after
 “ sent the prince a sum of money,
 “ and an escort to conduct him to
 “ Brussels.” *Mem. pour l’Histoire*
de France, anno 1609.

The *Marechal de Bassompierre* in his *Memoirs* says, the archduke was so much staggered with *M. de Praslin’s* declaration, that he sent to desire the prince would only pass through his dominions, without making any stay in them, though he had before promised to receive him; but that afterwards he again changed his resolution, by the advice of the *marquis Spinola*, and treated the prince with the highest

honours. *Bassompierre’s Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 28.

Father *Daniel* in his *History of France*, in 4to. Vol. X. p. 437, has thrown new lights on this incident, from the letters in the library of the *Abbé d’Estrées*, by which it appears, that *Henry IV.* secretly sent the *marquis de Cœuvres* to Brussels to endeavour to carry off the princesses of *Condé*, and that the attempt miscarried only by the king having discovered this design to the queen, who immediately dispatched a courier to inform the *marquis Spinola* of it; on which the princesses of *Condé* was removed into an apartment in the archduke’s palace.

1609. "than the advice you gave me in my wife's chamber at the Louvre."

The prince of Condé, thinking it necessary to justify his late action, sent a letter * some days afterwards to the king. He likewise sent another, at the same time, to M. de Thou, much fuller and more circumstantial, in which, among other things, he insinuated, that I was the cause of his leaving France. "He ought to accuse his own malice, and that of many other persons who advised him to it, said the king, and not you. I desire you will write to him, and give him a fair representation of all that has passed; and that you will tell him, with the respect due to his quality, not to his person, the plain truth, and the misery he will infallibly expose himself too, if he does not

* "The prince wrote to the king, that it was with the utmost regret, and in order to preserve his life and honour only, that he had retired from the court, and not with any intention ever to be otherwise than his majesty's humble relation, faithful subject and servant. He adds, I will never engage in any thing contrary to your majesty's service, unless I am compelled to it; and beg you will not take it amiss, if I refuse to see, or receive, any letters which shall be wrote to me from court, by any one whatever, except those your majesty may be pleased to honour me with." Mem. for the Hist. of France, anno 1610. Siri, who gives a very minute account of this retreat of the prince of Condé, in the Mem. second Vol. II. p. 82, & seq. adds many other particulars to those here mentioned; but the greatest part of them, in my opinion, deserve little credit; as where he rashly asserts, on the foundation of popular report, that the only motive that induced Henry IV. to undertake the war against the Spaniards, was to oblige them to send

back the prince of Condé; and that finding them, in spite of his menaces, persist in refusing to do, he repented of having pushed matters so far. He adds a reflection on the honour of that prince, as if she had been a party concerned in this design against her husband, whom she disliked on account of a natural or acquired infirmity, which would have been sufficient to annul their marriage: that she was extremely desirous to return to France: that, during her residence at Brussels, she continued to receive letters of gallantry from Henry IV. that the prince of Condé was so well acquainted with her disposition in regard to him, that he could not conceal his resentment at it; and that, on his return, he talked publicly of obtaining a divorce from her. The greatest truth Siri speaks on this subject, is, that the king obstinately rejected all the rational advice given him on this occasion by the nuncio, some of his counsellors, and particularly the duke of Sully, whom he also commends for his resolute and free manner of speaking and writing to the prince of Condé.

"return

“ return to his duty.” “ I will go home then, 1609.”
 “ Sire, said I (for we were then at the constable’s
 “ house) and draw up the heads of my letter, and
 “ will bring it to you.” “ No, no, replied his
 “ majesty, you must write here; I will make them
 “ bring you ink and paper.” “ But, Sire, resumed
 “ I, this letter is of consequence: it is necessary I
 “ should reflect well upon it, and examine it at-
 “ tentively before I send it; for, if I write what
 “ will satisfy you, I must also consider what suits
 “ with the prince’s quality and my own, that no
 “ person, either in France or elsewhere, nor him-
 “ self, who you see seeks for occasions to accuse
 “ and blame me, may find any thing there to au-
 “ thorise him. I am not prepared to write so sud-
 “ denly.” Notwithstanding all I could alledge in
 my excuse, I was obliged to write this letter instan-
 tly in his majesty’s presence; and at one end of the
 table, near which we were sitting. This letter, tho’
 writ so hastily, was approved of by the king; and
 here follow the contents.

I began with complaining to the prince, that,
 having believed he had respect enough for me not to
 make me a visit with any other intention than to ask
 my advice, yet he gave me occasion now to suspect
 that visit was only to draw me into the commission
 of some error or imprudence. As to the rest, he
 knew better than any one else how much in vain he
 had laid that snare for me; and here I related, less
 for him than the public, all that had passed in the
 conversation we had together at the Arsenal, which
 the reader has already seen. After this I owned to
 him, without any disguise, that having, notwith-
 standing all his art, penetrated into his design, I had
 informed the king of it, who might have prevented
 him from executing it, if he had believed me, or
 been less good and indulgent. I made no apologies
 to the prince for the advice I had given to his ma-
 jesty against him, since it was for the good of the
 state, for the king’s advantage, and for his own,

1609. however little he might attend to it. I laid before his eyes the consequences of the imprudent step he had taken: I asked him, what he had to expect from the archdukes and the Spaniards, who, considering him as a useless burden upon them, would insult him by their haughty and insolent behaviour, and secretly applaud themselves for it? I conjured him to reflect on what he owed to the consideration of his honour, his virtue, his birth, and duty; and exhorted him to implore the king's pardon as soon as possible. To these entreaties, I added offers of service, which would prove to him my zeal for his interest, and attachment to his person,

It will be easily granted, that such a letter was very extraordinary from a man who, in the supposition of having connived at his flight, might have been struck dumb with a single word in answer from one of so high a rank as first prince of the blood. Yet I went farther; I told the prince, that the civilities, praises, and acknowledgements, with which he had loaded me at the Arsenal, were, to my great regret, but ill repaid by the necessity his letter had reduced me to, of declaring the truth in such a manner as perhaps he might think inconsistent with the respect I owed him: that he ought, in his own mind, to render me the justice I deserved; but that he would now be convinced, that the first step any man takes contrary to his duty, by a necessary consequence makes him violate all the laws of sincerity: lastly, that whatever his intention might be in thus endeavouring to involve me in his crime, I had always held it my glory and my honour to be thus treated by the enemies of the king and the state; and implored heaven to inspire the prince with such sentiments as might efface all remembrance of a fault which had, with too much justice, deserved those two epithets. This letter * was published; but it

* "The prince of *** refused to receive the letters the duke of Sul-ly wrote to him, telling those who brought them, that he would receive nothing that came from him." L'Etoile, *ibid*.

produced no answer, which entirely destroyed, even in the opinions of my enemies themselves, all suspicions arising from the prince's insinuation. 1609.

A dispute arose between Villeroi and De-Fresne, on account of the letters * which the king ordered to be sent into the provinces, two days after the flight of the prince, to signify his intentions concerning this event. Villeroi composed a form for these letters, which he would have had all the other secretaries of state to have followed. De-Fresne thought the expressions he used unworthy of the dignity of him from whom they were supposed to proceed, which indeed was true; and, as he was generally allowed to write quite as well as his brother secretary, he was afraid of some cavils by sending this letter, as written by himself, to those persons, with whom, by his office, he was connected. He imparted his perplexity to me, and entreated me to extricate him out of it.

I have nothing to say concerning the affairs of the protestant body, except that they supported themselves happily against all the calumnies which were invented against them, and which they brought even to his majesty's ear, by advices and discourses of all kinds. A letter was addressed to the king, dated the 31st of July, supposed to be written from Rochelle, in a counterfeit hand, and falsely signed Emanuel de La-Faye, in which he was informed, that, in an assembly held at St. Maixant, the minister of Blois, who was called Viguier, had presented a book,

* In Vol. 972 of the Royal MSS, we find the summons delivered to the prince of Condé at Brussels, in the month of February 1610, by Mess. de Berny and Manicamp, in the king's name, requiring him to return to France, under the penalty of becoming guilty of high treason; and the prince's refusal to obey it. The parliament passed an arret against him, by which he was condemned to under-

go whatever punishment his majesty should think fit to inflict on him. Henry IV. went in person to parliament, to solicit the passing of this arret; and, as a mark of his grief, he went without state or train; he sat down in the chief president's place without canopy or footstool, the hall being only guarded by the ushers of the parliament, instead of the king's officers.

entituled,

1609. entitled, *Antichrist displayed**, scandalous, it was said, and outrageous to the last degree: that, in this assembly, it was resolved the book should be printed, after it had been examined by the academy of Saumur: and that this book was then actually in the press, notwithstanding his majesty's public prohibition.

This letter † is filled with so many minute particulars, and passion and prejudice appear every where so strongly in it, that the reader will not, I believe, be displeased at my suppressing it. The author certainly flattered himself, that he should make it be believed that the Rochellers fortified their city, upon a supposition that they should soon have a siege to sustain; and that an assembly was held at Marseilles, to oblige the king to call a convocation of the states of the kingdom. Du-Plessis was, as they alledged, the author of these plots, all absolutely without foundation, except indeed some murmurs against the gabelle in Mirebalais and Loudunois, in which however a very small number of protestants had any part. With regard to Du-Plessis, he was the very man who sent the first information of it to his majesty; and I thought myself obliged in honour, tho' my enemy, as till then he had shewn himself to be, to give testimony to his innocence, when I convinced the king, who insisted upon my taking a journey into Poitou to repress the rebellious designs of the protestants, that his real enemies endeavoured to keep themselves concealed by branding those with that guilt who did not deserve it. Du-Plessis thanked me in a long letter, which contained a justification, in form, against all the heads of the accusation.

* The supplement to the Journal of Henry IV. printed in 1736, takes notice of this book, and says that father Gonthier, in a sermon he preached before the king, having made violent invectives, on this account, against the huguenots, the

king reprimanded him, and ordered the book to be suppressed, which, in reality, has never appeared since. Anno 1609.

† It is to be seen in Sully's Memoirs, Vol. IV. p. 335.

The following information, which was given me by a gentleman of unquestioned honour, appeared to me more circumstantial, and more worthy of attention. In one of the streets of La-Fleche called *Des Quatre Vents*, and near an inn, with a sign of the same name, there had lodged, for some months, a man, whose name was Médor, a native of Auvergne, with a widow, called Jane Huberson, who boarded scholars of reputable families, that were under the care of Médor. A niece of this widow's, about twenty-six years of age, named Rachael Renaud, who lived with her aunt, and a cousin called Huberson likewise, going one day into Médor's study, found a book there which excited her curiosity: it was finely gilt, and tied very neatly with blue and carnation ribbons, and very thick. She opened it, and saw that half of it was written, partly with ink, and partly with blood: that it was full of signatures, almost all in blood, among which, surprised as she was, she distinguished that of Médor, of a man named Du-Noyer, who lived in a village in the neighbourhood of Paris, near Villeroi, and of another man named Du-Croix, from Billon in Auvergne, who had formerly belonged to the duke de Mercœur. These two men she knew, because they had often come to visit their lodger.

As she was going out of the closet, with an intention to carry this book to her aunt, she met Médor, who, snatching it out of her hands, asked her, in a rage, what she was going to do with it. She told him ingenuously, that it was so pretty she was desirous her aunt should see it; and then asked him the meaning of those signatures of blood, which she had seen in it. Médor, fearing that she had carried her curiosity so far as to examine the writing, at the end of which were those names subscribed, and which contained an association of conspirators against the king's person, told her, that it was an oath, which, for the interest of their religion, a great many zealous catholics had taken to continue faithfully attached

1609. tached to the Pope. This answer did not hinder the girl from speaking of the book to her aunt and cousin, who were the only protestants in the house. They thought the discovery of such consequence, that, after getting all the information they could from the girl of what she had seen, they related it to the person, who gave me notice of it, with all the circumstances necessary to make a fuller discovery.

The book was immediately taken out of Médor's chamber, and carried, as Huberson and the girl believed, to Du-Crofs, whose direction they gave. He lodged with a man named Druillet, who lived in a house without the city, near the gate of St. Germain, on the right side. With this Druillet several children of quality boarded, and particularly of the province of Brittany; because he likewise had been in the duke of Mercœur's service. Du-Crofs was the soul of this cabal. An assembly at the jesuits college, in which he held one of the chief places, and where he was often employed to deliver public discourses, gave him all the opportunities he could desire, to associate a great number of persons into his black designs: and here it was that he became acquainted with Médor and Du-Noyer.

To these informations were added all those that I was able to get myself. The morning after I received the billet, which was on October 19th, I sent a person, on whom I could securely depend, to search the bottom of this affair: but although all his discoveries served to confirm what had been wrote to me, and that the girl herself offered to maintain her deposition before any person who should chuse to hear her, and even in his majesty's presence, the credit and artifice of those who were concerned in this accusation were exerted with such success, that an affair, which certainly merited a farther examination, was buried in silence. Domestic dissensions, and intestine plots, were the two evils which pursued Henry; after he had extricated himself from
the

the dangers of war, till the last moment of his life. 1609.

The count of Auvergne continued still imprisoned in the bastile: he obtained permission of his majesty to be removed for a change of air, on account of his indisposition, and he was carried to a pavillion on the water, which was at the end of the gardens belonging to the Arsenal; but guards were placed upon him during the whole time he staid there. He also obtained leave to speak to the sieur de Châteaumorand.

Henry's health was this year only interrupted with some slight fits of the gout. He did not drink the waters, because they were of no use to him. M. the Dauphin, and all the children of France, enjoyed likewise a good state of health. Henry made as long a stay as usual at Fontainebleau: he passed the whole autumn there, after a short excursion to Monceaux, and returned to Paris at the beginning of winter.

MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK XXVII.

1609. **A**LL that remains for me to say of the transactions of this year relates to foreign affairs, which I shall begin with those of the United Provinces. The king granted them, in the month of April, the sum of three hundred thousand livres. Præaux was sent to the States with this agreeable news, and I received orders from his majesty to send the money to Dieppe, where it was to be shipped on board a vessel belonging to the Republic. Henry thought himself obliged to reward, by this last instance of his bounty, the respect the council of the United Provinces had shewn for him, in giving him the principal part in their accommodation with Spain: for in this year was at length concluded the truce*, which had been so long in agitation, and equally desired by all, even by those who had at first appeared most against it: and the prince of Orange himself at last agreed to it.

* It will be proper, as well on the negotiations of this famous truce, as on all the affairs of Flanders mentioned in these Memoirs, to consult the volumes of the king's MSS. marked 9759, 9981, 9005, le Merc. Franç. Matthieu, Vittorio, Siri, and the particular histories of that republic.

I shall

I shall not here transcribe the treaty which was drawn up at the Hague, the usual place for holding the conferences; but only that of the intervention of the kings of France and England as guarantees for the execution of it. This piece is dated June 27, 1609, and was signed as the former, at the Hague, in the presence of messire Peter Jeanin, chevalier, baron of Changy and Montreu, one of the counsellors of his most christian majesty in his council of state, and his ambassador extraordinary to the States; and of messire Elie de La-Place, chevalier, lord of Ruffy, viscount of Machaut, member of the king's council of state, gentleman in ordinary of his bed-chamber, and his ambassador in ordinary; both of them in the name, and as having authority from the most high, most powerful, and most excellent prince Henry IV. &c. Afterward followed the names of his Britannic majesty's two ministers, with the same titles of ambassadors in ordinary and extraordinary: and after them the names of the counsellors and ministers of the several provinces of the Low-Countries, with a reciprocal obligation to cause the contents of the said treaty to be ratified, within two months, by the respective parties.

The intervention and guarantee are expressed in the following manner: That the two kings, notwithstanding all their endeavours, having been unable to procure a firm and solid peace between the two warring powers, had at length proposed to them a long truce, to which likewise many obstacles were raised, which would probably have blasted the scheme, if their majesties, for the good of the parties, and the security of their states, had not consented to have been guarantees and securities for it; and therefore that they promised, and engaged themselves, to assist the United Provinces with all their forces, not only in case of any infraction of the truce by Spain, but also if their trade to the Indies should be interrupted, or suffer the least injury,

1609. jury, either from his catholic majesty, the archdukes, their officers, or subjects. This extended as well to those whom the States thought proper to associate with them in this trade, as to the countries where it was carried on; provided, however, that the republic did not pretend to be judges themselves of the injuries they received in this respect, but left them to the decision of their majesties in a common council, wherein they were to be allowed a vote: in case the judgment should be too long delayed, they were to give orders in the mean time for the security of their subjects. That, in consequence of which, the contracting parties should renew and confirm the private treaties made the preceding year, one on the 23d of January, between France and the United Provinces; and another, on the 26th of June, between England and the same Provinces; by applying to the truce the same agreements, promises, and obligations, which these treaties expressed during the continuance of a peace, which was then believed to be upon the point of concluding. That, in acknowledgment for the guarantee of the two mediating kings, and for the assistance which the states-general had received from them, they engaged to make no treaty or agreement with the archdukes during the twelve years of the truce, without the advice and consent of their majesties, who promised, on their side, not to enter into any alliance prejudicial to the liberty and safety of their friends and allies: for these were the titles given by the two princes to the States.

The archdukes, that they might not give offence to the king of Spain, refused their consent to its being mentioned in the treaty for a truce, that the Dutch should be secured in their trade to the Indies: they only undertook, of their own accord, acting under his catholic majesty, to allow the exercise of it: therefore the Republic, who sought a security against a new breach of faith from the Spaniards, had it, at last, made one of the positive ar-

articles of the treaty for the mediation of the kings of France and England. Henry was not sorry, since the war between Spain and Flanders was to end, it should end in this manner.

I ought not to omit mentioning an obligation; which, on this occasion, I received, rather indeed from Henry, than the council of the United Provinces, which regarded my nephews D'Epinoy. His majesty, who had often listened to my complaints of the injustice which these children had suffered from the count and countess of Ligne; and who, from the time that they were brought to me in France, had given them many proofs of his kindness, which I believe I have mentioned somewhere or other in these Memoirs, was desirous of doing something more for them. Jeannin * had orders to confer with the archduke Albert upon their affairs, to endeavour to engage him in their interest, and to do them justice. Either he or Caumartin delivered to this prince a memorial which I had drawn up, and which explained the claims the family of Epinoy had to the succession of that of Melun. The archduke's answer, which he sent the king in the year 1601, gave me reason to hope for success. Accordingly this prince, finding that his majesty interested himself in the affair, took so much part in it, that by a provisional agreement my nephew D'Epinoy †, who by the death of his brother was the sole heir, obtained a restitution of great part of those effects which had been forfeited by his father. This agreement, which, through the interest of the king and the archduke, became a writ-

* There is a letter in the cabinet of the present duke of Sully, from the late duke to the president Jeannin, in which, after taking notice of the then present state of the affairs of the United Provinces, and these of Clèves, he recommends the interest of his nephew, the prince of Epinoy, to

him. This letter is too long to be here transcribed: it is dated at Fontainebleau, the 15th of June, 1609.

† William de Melun, prince of Epinoy, &c. He had many other brothers who either died young or without issue. He has been spoke of before.

1609. ing of great importance, was afterwards the best the princess of Ligne* could make use of, to prove that all the rest of this estate, which she had not been deprived of, had been granted to her.

I thought of an expedient to put an end to these evasions and artifices, which was to obtain the consent of the council of the United Provinces to insert, in their treaty of truce, an article by which this question was decided in favour of the young D'Epinoy. My request, which I made privately, was granted with great willingness; the article was inserted; and expressed, that upon the refusal which the princess of Ligne had given to the council of the United Provinces, to make a restitution of the estates of the house of Epinoy, which she unjustly enjoyed, two arbitrators should be named for his most christian majesty, and two for the archdukes, who should meet at Vervins* to give a definitive judgment: that, if the votes were divided, they should appoint an umpire; and, if they could not agree upon the choice, his most christian majesty should be this umpire, to whose sentence the princess of Ligne, and all the other respective heirs should submit; and the archdukes, of whom these estates were held, should permit the execution of it: and that, in the mean time, the estates of the house of Vassenard, and all others belonging to the prince of Epinoy, within the extent of the Dutch provinces, should be restored to him.

The princess of Ligne used her utmost endeavours to elude the decision. This last clause depriving her of all hope, she appealed to the agreement before mentioned. She alledged, that part of those estates which were required of her, being in the province of Holland, had been charged with heavy taxes; for which she demanded compensa-

* Mary de Melun, lady of Roubais, D'Antoing, &c. wife of Lamoral, the first prince of Ligne, governor of Artois, knight of the golden fleece.

tion.

tion. When she found herself pressed, she affected to abate of her obstinacy, and only requested that the affair might be terminated by any other method than a rigorous judgment, and proposed several herself, especially when she perceived that her nephew was inclined to purchase an agreement with her by the sacrifice of some of his just claims. The archduke seemed to enter with her into all the expedients that could be thought on to make me desist; for I was the person whom, on this occasion, they looked upon to be the real adversary. A marriage was proposed between my nephew and the princess of Ligne's second daughter. This expedient was happily enough imagined, if the mother had been a reasonable woman: but she would not give this daughter a portion equal to that she had given with the eldest. I left it to her choice, either to resign twenty-five thousand livres a year to D'Epinoy, as a portion for her daughter, or to make him a restitution of his whole estate: Though my nephew by this offer lost considerably, yet it was rejected with disdain. The remainder of the year was passed in making and refusing propositions, which all amounted to nothing.

There was again a necessity that his majesty should interpose, which he had the goodness to do, by writing a letter, dated October 19, to the archduke, in which he complained of the princess of Ligne's proceedings, and of the little sollicitude he himself shewed for the fulfilling that article of the treaty relating to the prince of Epinoy. As to the agreement which madame de Ligne laid such stress upon, the king observed, that, besides that nothing can be opposed to a determination recorded in a treaty made between sovereigns, it was the opinion of his council, and conformable to the laws of his kingdom, that the authority of any prince which is added to a contract, should not hinder the subject who is injured by it from claiming his right.

1609. right. He desired him to hear what * Berny and Préaux † had to say, whom he had ordered to acquaint him with every circumstance of the affair: and, repeating his instances in favour of Epinoy, he declared that he would answer for the fidelity and obedience of his new vassal. He owned that D'Epinoy was willing to purchase an agreement and union with his aunt, at the expence of a small part of his estate; but that himself had been one of the first to advise him not to listen to her while she continued to be so unreasonable in her demands. This letter was more in the style of a friend than a king; and in almost all those which Villeroi and Jeannin wrote by his order to the States, the affair of Epinoy was mentioned with great warmth. I likewise urged it on in the letters I writ to Préaux, from whom, upon this occasion, I received services which I promised him should not go unrewarded.

This year the duke of Bouillon obtained letters of naturalization for his children born at Sedan. The king did not observe, that in these letters, and in the petition presented on this occasion to the chamber of accounts, Bouillon had assumed the title of sovereign of Sedan; and therefore made no opposition to it by his attorney-general. But his majesty repaired this failure, by ordering Jérôme L'Huillier, the attorney-general, to demand an act, by which it was allowed, that his compliance with this petition, and his silence with respect to the titles there assumed, should not injure his rights, if he should be able, at any time, by his papers, claims, or records of the treasury of archives, to make appear that Sedan was anciently a fief depending on that of Moufon, which was part of the crown lands. This act, of the 11th of April, is inserted in the registers of the chamber of accounts.

* Matthew Brulart, lord of Berny, the king's president at the court of the archduke.

† Hector de Préaux, a calvinist gentleman, governor of Châteleraut.

His

1609.

His majesty sent the duke of Lunebourg-Brunswick's deputy, to me, for the payment of seven thousand crowns, which the king ordered me to give him, without making farther enquiry into, as the sum was so moderate. I obeyed his commands, and, at the same time, treated him with the utmost degree of politeness. Henry, by such instances of kindness and respect, endeavoured to attach the German princes still more to his interest. I likewise rendered some services to the duke of Savoy, which produced a letter from this prince to me and a visit of thanks from M. de Jacop, his ambassador. This deference, added to the visits I was observed to pay to the duke of Savoy's ambassador in return, appeared to my enemies at court a sufficient foundation for suggesting to the king, that the duke of Savoy made the same use of me as he had done of marechal Biron. Henry took care not to tell them that he was acquainted with all my proceedings, and approved of them; but thanked them for their information, and wrote me an account of all they had said, desiring me, at the same time, to bring him the last letters I had received from Turin the next time I attended him.

Another attempt was made upon the city of Geneva this year, under the direction of Du-Terrail *, the same who has been so often mentioned in these Memoirs. He succeeded so ill in it, that he was taken prisoner there, and without any form of trial put to death. He was a man of great understanding and courage; but giddy with ambition, and

* Lewis de Combourfier, lord of Terrail, a gentleman of Dauphiny, and a relation of Lefdiguieres. The Memoirs for the history of France speak of him as Sully's do. "The king, say they, whose natural subject he was, had granted him four several pardons; but he had no sooner got a par-

"don in one pocket, as the king said, but he had a scheme for a plot ready in another."—The pardon the king would have granted him would not have saved his life. He and La-Bastide, a gentleman of Bourdel, who was taken with him, were beheaded at Geneva on the 29th of April.

1609. absorbed in vice : therefore the king was not concerned that justice had overtaken him. As soon as it was known that he was imprisoned, the king was wearied with solicitations in his favour ; but the news of his death followed that of his detention so close, that he was not long embarrassed. " We have a happy riddance of him, said this prince to me ; he was a dangerous man : ever since I observed that he left off visiting you, and haunting you as usual ; and after that murder * he committed in the view of us both, as we stood together upon the balcony, I lost all hope of him."

The duke of Florence, after the death of the duke his father †, having sent an ambassador extraordinary to Rome to pay his obedience to the Pope, he either by his master's orders or from his own inclination, or perhaps through contempt, visited the Spanish ambassador before ours, Henry, when he was informed of this affront, resolved to take vengeance for it, and began by revoking an order, which, upon the representations made him

* " On Tuesday the 8th of August, Le-Terrail, in the king's light, before the windows of the gallery of the Louvre, killed Mazancy, a brave Gascon officer, whom his majesty had just been speaking to. The king was so much affected with seeing this action, that he was obliged, as it was said, to change his shirt twice upon it." Mem. for the Hist. of France, anno 1606.

Du-Terrail was obliged to leave the kingdom after this assassination.

† Ferdinaud de Médicis, grand duke of Tuscany, who, in 1587, succeeded his brother Francis Maria de Médicis, died the year before. " The king," says L'Etoile, or the author of the Supplement to his Journal, " in order to acquaint the queen with his death,

" without surprising her, told her, as he was getting up, he had dreamed he saw the grand duke dead. The queen at first was struck with it ; but recollecting herself, she said it was only a dream. But, Madam, replied the king, I am afraid my dream is true ; we are all mortal. He is dead then ? Yes, added the king ; here is the letter that informs me of his death."—This death occasioned a suspension of the usual diversion of the carnival, &c. It was this Ferdinand who made answer to our ambassador, when remonstrating to him on account of his connexions with Spain ; " Had the king had forty gallies at Marseilles, I would not have done what I have." Cosmo II. de Médicis his son, is the person here in question.

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by the chevalier Guidi, he had given for the payment of a hundred thousand livres, which were still due to the grand duke. Jouanini, this prince's agent, who foresaw all the consequences of this affair, assembled his friends and partisans to consult together upon the methods they should use to prevent the reparation we had a right to exact, from extending to any insult upon Spain; and as I was thought to be him, who of all the counsellors was most capable of inspiring the king with a firm resolution on this head, they agreed that it would be proper for Jouanini to apply to me, and endeavour to soften me.

I readily complied with his entreaties, not to speak or act upon this occasion any otherways than merely to execute the king's orders. There was no necessity for urging Henry to support his just claims, and this Jouanini knew as well as myself. I told him, however, that I was much surprised that a petty prince, such as his master, should presume to regulate the rank of the kings of France and Spain. Jouanini received these words as any other ambassador would have done upon the like occasion; and, to shew me that I ought to treat his master with more respect, he entered into a long discourse upon his great qualities and his genealogy, making him allied to the house of Austria, whose eulogium he was going to begin. I interrupted him, saying, that every other person was as capable as himself of settling the true degree of grandeur of the duke of Florence, since it had commenced in our own times; and as for what regarded the house of Austria, I had no occasion for any informations; I who reckoned among my ancestors a daughter of that house*, who died a

* John de Béthune, Lord of Vandeuil, Locres, &c. first of that branch from which the duke of Sully was descended, married Jane de Coucy, allied to the house of Austria. Enguerrand VI. of Coucy, or to speak more properly of Guienes, bearing the name and arms of the house of Coucy, which was extinct, married Catherine of

1609. hundred and fifty years ago; but that it was impossible to make any comparison between that family and the august house of France.

This affair gave rise to much artful management at court, in which the queen seemed to carry too far her tenderness for her relations. The king reproached her several times for it with some severity, and she made me sensible that she accused no other than myself for it. However, this affair produced no worse consequences. The duke of Florence, upon the first complaint the king made to him, protested that he had no part in this imprudent procedure of his ambassador; and declared, that he was willing to make any reparation for it which his majesty should require. He recalled his ambassador, without waiting for the king's request, and commanded him, before his departure, to make an authentic acknowledgment of the fault he had committed, which was published in Rome and in France. Henry was satisfied with this apology, and, to convince the grand duke that he had forgot every thing, he assured him that he would preserve the same sentiments of friendship and esteem for him as for the deceased duke, and gave him the first proof of them by sending to congratulate him upon his advancement to the throne, as all the other princes of Europe had done.

Spain had chosen cardinal Zapata to perform this ceremony, and Henry thought proper to make use of a cardinal likewise, that he might avoid an affront like the former: for it is well known what personal prerogatives cardinals enjoy at the courts

Austria, daughter of Leopold, who is the lady here meant by M. de Sully. He would have spoke more correctly had he said she came into the family of Coucy, to which his became allied. He has also made another mistake in point of chronology; for, instead of saying a hundred and fifty, he should

have said two hundred and fifty years; this Enguerrand de Coucy, the husband of Catherine of Austria, having been killed at the battle of Crecy in 1346. See the MSS. of S. Martine, Du Chesne, Anselme, and other genealogists. See also our foregoing remarks on the house of Austria.

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of Italian princes. I named the abbe de La-Rochefoucault to him, who was going to Rome to take possession of that dignity; but his majesty for that very reason did not approve of him, as he was apprehensive that this abbe, who they were sensible was not yet named a cardinal, nor would leave France expressly for this embassy, would not be as well received at Florence as an ancient cardinal: therefore cardinal Delfin was pitched upon by his majesty, who gave him two thousand crowns for his expences, his eminence not being very rich. Conchini had aspired to this honour, and would have obtained it through the queen's interest; but for the considerations before mentioned, he would not have acquitted himself of this commission at so small an expence: Henry, therefore, was pleased at his disappointment, as well on account of his hatred to the man, as from a principle of frugality.

Policy, and the interest of his great designs, had perhaps more part in the king's complaisance to the duke of Florence, than the consideration of his alliance with him. Those two motives were sufficient to prevent him from ill treating, or even neglecting the most inconsiderable prince. The hundred thousand livres was again ordered to be paid to the chevalier Guidi, the king only requiring that, in the grand duke's receipts, some considerable sums should be deducted, which he had advanced to Don John de Medicis. With this money, Guidi carried to Florence a gold chain, valued at six hundred crowns, which I presented him with in his majesty's name. Henry, likewise, shewed many other civilities to this Italian; for, whether he remained beyond the Alps, or was again sent to France by his master, the king thought it necessary to gain his friendship.

De Refuge continued still among the Swiss and Grisons in the quality of our agent; but executed this employment so ill, that I thought myself obliged to

1609. to reproach him by Villeroi for his inattention to the business he was sent to transact. He durst not answer me himself; but to Villeroi he excused his neglect, in not sending the account of the distribution he had made of the money, which was the first complaint I had against him, by alledging that these accounts should have been sent to me by the two clerks, through whose hands the two former distributions had passed, besides those more particular ones, which the treasurers of the Leagues were to furnish me with; and that I should certainly receive from them those of the next distribution. With regard to the redemption of debts, which was my second charge against him, he, without coming to particulars, told Villeroi, in his answer, that he had discharged some at different times; nor did he give more satisfactory replies to the other reprimands he received.

After Villeroi had shewn me his letter, I wrote to him myself, as I believed the place I filled gave me a right, and even obliged me to do. I told him, that I had not received the four accounts from the clerks he mentioned to Villeroi; but that, if I had, such accounts were not sufficient; but that, since the ordinances for payment came only from him, it belonged to him likewise to draw up accounts, wherein every sum of money should be specified separately, and authenticated by him: that he was obliged to answer for the exactness of the treasurers, and to inform me if they had any blanks in their accounts, which was what was always done by Caumartin, his predecessor: and likewise, that he should not fail to send me, every quarter, the accounts of the receipts given by the treasurers of the Leagues, with that of the distribution he had made, divided into chapters. He was continually proposing new methods for discharging of debts, for managing his majesty's money, and for confining his employment solely to the finances, in consequence of which he demanded an exact correspondence

dence with the superintendant. It was not possible for him to find an excuse for the silence he affected with me; nor were his excuses for having not paid any debts during his administration any better. The thing was not more difficult for him, than the person whom he had succeeded. I desired him, therefore, to satisfy me as soon as possible, not by using many words and justifications, that had no force; and which, in affairs relating to money, could not be received, but by just reasons and good effects; otherways I could not dispense with myself from representing him to his majesty as a man unworthy of the trust he had confided to him.

It was suggested to the Grand Signior to have a resident at Marseilles for the conveniency of the Granadines who passed through that city. The Grand Vizier mentioned it, by his order, to our ambassador at the Porte, and consulted the Aga of Cairo, named Aga Ibrahim-Mustapha, upon this establishment, a man who, in a very short space of time, had acquired great authority, and many dignities at the Porte, and mentioned me to him as the only person at the court of France to whom it would be proper to address himself. The Aga Mustapha was directed to ask this favour of the king, in the name of Sultan Achmet, by a letter, to which was added one from Salignac to me, and both were brought by a Granadine whom the Grand Vizier chose for this employment. Salignac gave me information of all that had passed at the Porte upon this subject; and added, that the Grand Signior would think himself highly obliged to the king for the grant of this favour, which could be productive of no inconvenience to him; and that he could not dispose of the place to any one more fit for it than the bearer, whose probity and good sense were well known to him, and who had formerly passed some time at Marseilles.

One of the most remarkable and interesting events that happened this year in Europe, was the death of the

1609. the duke of Cleves, who died about the beginning of it; the news of which no sooner reached the ears of Henry, than he came to the Arsenal, where, having barely enquired for me in the first court, he passed on to the garden, without entering my apartment. When he was answered, that I was writing in my cabinet, he returned to Roquelaure and Zamet, and said to them, smiling, "Did not you imagine, that they were going to tell me, that he was either hunting, dressing, or with the ladies? Go, Zamet," said this prince, after having given such praise to my diligence as does not become me to repeat, "go, tell him that I am gone up the great walk, and desire him to follow me immediately to the large balcony, where we are not wont to be silent; I have much to say to him: for I have heard," continued his majesty openly, "that the duke of Cleves is dead; he has left all the world his heirs; the emperor and all the princes of Germany claiming the succession." Zamet met me coming out of my closet, having been already told that the king had passed by. The news of the day, and every consequential incident, afforded matter for above an hour's entertainment in the balcony. His majesty thought it a subject well worth my pains to compose, upon what I had to say on this head, a memoir, which I shall here insert, with the addition of such informations as I received a few days after from Bongars, who at that time had a particular charge to be strictly watchful of our interest in Germany. I shewed it all to Henry; nor do I believe the reader will be displeased to find an event which all Europe, attentive to his majesty's designs, looked upon as a signal of a general war, treated with that perspicuity it deserves, both with respect to its justice and expediency.

But it is first necessary to explain how this little state, made at the last duke's death out of four or five great fiefs, all having the titles of principality, was formed. A count of Juliers, who lived about

about the year 1130, united this county to that of Berg, by marrying an only daughter of a count of that name. The county of Gueldres was afterwards united to it in the year 1350, by the marriage of Reynold, or Renould, first duke of Gueldres with the heiress of William, first duke of Juliers. About the same time, one Adolphus de La-Mark resigned the archbishopric of Cologne, and the bishopric of Munster, to support his pretensions as heir of Mary his mother, countess of Cleves, against his cousins, D'Erkel and Perweis, who were also sons of Cleves, but on the female side; and succeeded in his claims, either by purchasing the right of the second son, who was nearer of kin by one degree than him, or by the assistance of the emperor Charles IV. and the states of the country.

The duchy of Cleves having thus passed into the house of La-Mark, those of Juliers and Berg were afterwards re-united to it in the person of John duke of Cleves, count de La-Mark, who, in 1496, married the daughter of William duke of Juliers and Berg. The duchy of Guelders was at that time dismembered, because that Arnold D'Egmont, who possessed it in right of his mother, Mary D'Erkel, daughter to N—— D'Erkel and Jane of Juliers and Gueldres, had sold it, in 1472, to Charles of Burgundy, with whose daughter it went to the house of Austria, a disposition that was vainly contested by William of Juliers, to whom it was left by will by Charles D'Egmont, grandson of Arnold, the house of Austria maintaining itself in possession of the duchy by force of arms. This custom of feminine fiefs, received in all the cantons, supports the opinions of those who believe that the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, which fell into the house of Austria, by the marriage of Mary of Burgundy with Maximilian, are not the only female fiefs.

The emperor would not allow that Cleves, Juliers, Berg, La-Mark, Ravensburgh, and Ravensstein,

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tein, of which John-William died possessed, were female fiefs; on the contrary, the claims, which he pretended to these fiefs, were founded only upon proofs, which he was said to have had, of their being all masculine fiefs. This contest was not a point absolutely new. The contradiction of the dispositions of the different sovereigns of this little territory, which at different times had been received by their subjects, to the declaration of some of the emperors upon this head, had long made it a disputed point, the entire decision of which had been by both parties referred to the death of the last male heir of that house, which at length happened. To canvas this point of right more properly, it is necessary to search into the archives of that principality, by which means we shall be acquainted with the state of the last duke's family, and find out with what truth Henry said, that the duke of Cleves's succession belonged to almost all Germany.

The arguments urged in this affair, by the interested princes against the emperor, were drawn from the many testamentary and matrimonial papers, as well as several other writings, both public and private, which received their authority from the solemn acceptance of the states of the country, the chief of which were these: First, an ordinance of Adolphus the first duke of Cleves, count de La-Mark, &c. received in all his towns, anno 1418, whereby the principality was given to the duke's eldest son, and to him only, his brothers being excluded from any share in it; and, in default of male issue in him, to his eldest daughter, exclusive of other daughters. There was a like edict of William duke of Juliers and Berg, count de Ravensburg, John duke of Cleves, count de La-Mark in 1496, on account of the union of their territories, by the marriage of Mary, only daughter of the first of these princes, with John, son of the second. There was another ordinance of the said John of Cleves, and Mary of Juliers, in 1526,
about

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about which time there was a marriage between their eldest daughter Sibylla to John Frederic, count, and since elector of Saxony, to which disposition William himself, son of John and Mary, subscribed in 1542. In the year 1572, William duke of Juliers and Cleves*, &c. father of the last duke, accomplished a match between his eldest daughter Maria Eleonora and Albert Frederic of Brandenburg, duke of Prussia; and he, in the marriage articles, reserved the entire succession to her in the same form, in case of the extinction of the male line in his family. Two years after, Ann, sister of Maria Eleonora, espoused duke Philip Lewis, the count Palatine of Newburg, with the same respect to the rights of eldership in the female line. The contract was concluded at Deux-ponts, and signed by the count Lewis, afterwards elector palatine, by William Landgrave of Hesse, and duke John, count Palatine. The same contract was ratified a second time in 1575, by the same prince William; at which time, duke Philip Lewis complaining that two hundred thousand florins, which was the portion of the younger sisters, was too slight a recompense for renouncing such a succession, his kinsman, the duke of Cleves, insisted upon an augmentation of one hundred thousand for each of them, on which condition Ann of Juliers made a solemn renunciation of it the same year. Duke John, count Palatine, de Deux-ponts, about four years afterwards married Magdalen, the third daughter of William of Juliers, making the same renunciation in favour of the eldest of his three sisters as duke Philip Lewis, his eldest brother, had done: Lewis, elector Palatine, William, landgrave of Hesse, Philip Lewis, count Palatine of Newburgh, also agreed thereto. This was the fourth renunciation of the duke of Newburgh. Lastly, Sibylla, the fourth of these princesses, married

* He died in 1592.

Charles

1609. Charles of Austria, marquis of Burgaw; upon which occasion it was natural to suppose, that the prince their brother would not have forgot to insist upon the Austrian prince's * making the same renunciation with his other three brothers-in-law: nevertheless, partly it appeared, that because this prince, who had no children, was become a valetudinarian; partly, that the portion-money was not ready; and, lastly, because the government was managed very strangely; the duke of Cleves died; before his fourth brother-in-law had made the same renunciation as the rest. Such were the rights of the four princes, the duke of Brandenburg and Prussia, the count Palatine of Newburg, the count Palatine de Deux-ponts, and the marquis of Burgaw.

The emperor alledged the following examples in his favour: In the year 1483, imagining the duchies of Juliers and Berg were, by the death of duke William, fallen to the empire, he bestowed them, by his own absolute will, on Albert duke of Saxony, to reward him for his services. Maximilian, the first son of Frederic, ratified and extended this donation to the person of Ernest, elector of Saxony, brother of Albert, in the year 1486. He confirms it again in 1495, as at that time he stood in need of the princes of Saxony: but this consideration no longer subsisting, in the year 1508 the emperor left William of Juliers at liberty to dispose of his own estate, either to Mary, or such other of his daughters as he liked best. William dying in the year 1511, the elector of Saxony intended to take advantage of the emperor's donation, and deprive the duke of Cleves, who had married the heiress of it, of Juliers: but when he endeavoured to fix Maximilian on his side, that emperor, who feared nothing so much as the duke of Cleves throwing himself into the arms of France, refused to inter-

* He died at the age of forty-seven.

tere,

fere; and advised the elector to patience, giving him only general promises that he should lose nothing thereby. Moreover, when John Frederic, elector of Saxony, married Sibylla, daughter of John duke of Cleves and Juliers, in the year 1526, Charles V. expressly confirmed the right of that princess; and acted in pursuance thereof: for when in 1546 he made peace with duke William of Juliers; whom he had vanquished, on condition, that the duke should marry Mary of Austria, daughter of Ferdinand, king of the Romans and Hungary; he allowed in the marriage contract of this princess, who was his niece, that her daughter should succeed to the duchies of Juliers, &c. in case she should have no sons; which was also admitted after him by Maximilian II. in 1566. It is true that the reigning emperor, though strongly solicited; in 1602, by the duke of Newburgh to confirm that constitution of his predecessors, constantly refused it; and the only reason he gave for such refusal was, that he could not pretend to prejudice any person's right.

After this, the reader will easily discern a very distinguishing difference between the justice of the pretensions of the two parties, much to the advantage of the lawful heir; but very unfavourable to the Austrians; the former grounding their claim on a series of regulations unanimously and uniformly received; the latter only producing grants of pure power, which do little honour to the Aulic council, and moreover, by their variation and contradiction, so unstable as scarcely to found any right:

However, the duke of Cleves was no sooner dead, than each party began to think seriously of maintaining its right. The emperor Rodolphus gave the investiture of Juliers and Cleves to the archduke Leopold of Austria; a step he would not have taken, had it not been to be beforehand with his most christian majesty. This step was made in

1609. the name of Leopold, who declared by deputy to the king, that his intention in entering upon Cleves, was neither to do any thing that could be in the least prejudicial to his majesty's interest, nor yet to treat the princes, his competitors, with rigor; that he should be contented provided they behaved to his imperial majesty as they ought upon this occasion, and entreated the king not to enter into a discussion of an affair in which he himself was alone concerned with them.


Henry's answer to this deputy was in very general terms. He was surprised, that all this time he had heard nothing of the other princes, who ought to have been the first to address him; nor was he less so at the information received from Hottoman, that none of them thought of levying troops, as if they could hope to obtain any thing otherwise than by force of arms; but they soon saw what part they had to take: and if it was true that his majesty, in slightly reproaching them for their silence, took the first step, they followed it so well, that, having invited Boissise, Bongars, and the king's other agents to their council, they appointed an ambassador to entreat his majesty, in their name, to support them against the archduke, or rather against the emperor, which ambassador had good reason to be satisfied with the success of his commission. But, before we give a detail of ensuing facts, let us make some reflections upon the real political interest of France at this juncture.

These six cantons or small provinces, Cleves, Juliers, Bergh, La-Mark, Ravensburg, and Ravestein, were so far from being indifferent to France, that she was rather interested in them in a very peculiar manner, for several reasons, of which their strength and riches were not the least. They lay upon our frontiers; the competitors for them were not only near, but formidable neighbours; at least the emperor was so. This was reason sufficient not to let them fall into every hand. The war, raised

for their possession, may become general throughout Europe, consequently reach us against our will. This would certainly be the case, were the United Provinces, whom they particularly and necessarily influence, only concerned; their connection being so evident, that giving these disputed provinces to our friends, is, as it were, taking all Flanders from our enemies; as, on the contrary, leaving them open to the invasion of the house of Austria, were to expose the whole United Provinces to destruction: for I know not how otherwise to call the necessity to which they would be reduced, had they none but enemies for their neighbours, whose favour they must court by repeated sacrifices, which must terminate absolutely in their ruin. The truth of this was never more fully proved than from the disadvantages under which the States laboured, when the duke of Cleves, even but privately, supported the Spaniards. Is it prudent to suffer so useful and so expensive a work to be destroyed, when about to be completed? and let me add with sincerity, a work which, in spite of all our efforts, has, by the last treaty between Spain and the States, been not a little shocked.

If from this point of view we pass to his most christian majesty's vast designs upon all Europe, what better means is there of engaging in them those powers who could not be otherwise reconciled to them? This is the surest way of attaching to us all the princes of the empire, of restoring the liberty and dignity of the Germanic body, giving a mortal blow to the imperial authority, and striking the whole house of Austria with consternation: and this advantage, which France, for her own private interest, ought at any rate to have purchased, she shall enjoy, as the effect of disinterested generosity towards persecuted princes, without either jealousy or envy.

To this it may be objected, that these princes have hitherto shewn themselves very averse to entertaining these notions of us, if we may judge from

1609.  their evident unwillingness to be obliged to us, even when forced to allow that, without our assistance, they can do nothing: but, after all, this is no more than what unavoidably happens in the beginning of a difficult complicated affair, wherein many persons are concerned; for, in such schemes, their first consideration is to weigh their interest with their powers. Even when we know what is to be done, we are not agreed with respect to the manner of doing it; especially in confederacies where opinions multiply in proportion to the number of parties concerned; besides, I insist, that this irresolution of the German princes, from whatever motives it proceeds, ought not to prevent his majesty from taking part with them. I lay it down as a maxim, that in all important affairs, which tend to the general good, it is to the cause only, and not to the persons we must be attached: for the former presents but one single view, and that always the same; whereas the latter is so subject to change, and presents such a variety of hateful objects, that, closely to consider them, would give us a disinclination to the most useful and necessary enterprises. Politically speaking, we ought always to be content with having removed obstacles, without being deterred from proceeding, by any difficulties that may remain, and time of itself will remove: but with this restriction, that I speak of designs whereof the contrivers need not be ashamed; such as was ours in supporting the heir to the duke of Cleves, and settling the ballance of Europe. We have then only to begin; each moment will furnish us with fresh resources: the princes, now so backward and irresolute, will acquire courage from time and the flush of success; and the ardour of war will inspire them with those sentiments of our generosity, which they are to be condemned for not having at first entertained.

Behold a motive in favour of those who, though they approve of our generosity, yet are reduced perhaps to wish that it may not be merely gratuitous on

our side. Whatever success our arms may have in conjunction with those princes who form pretensions on the succession of Cleves, yet still these princes have certain fears that, one day or other, they shall be divested of all their possessions by the emperor, whenever the situation of things come to change. Is it a rash conclusion to imagine, that this fear, joined to the reflections they made, on the difficulty of preserving provinces divided amongst them into so many fragments, so little conducive to their respective utility, so desirably tempting to their enemies, especially to a king of France of an enterprising nature, should not induce them, one day or other, to enter into an accommodation with his most christian majesty, whether they received the value of these territories in ready money, or in some equivalent in tracts of land; for example, in the heart of France, as in Berry, Bourbon Marche, and Auvergne? Now, supposing this to happen, what advantages must accrue to France in this double connection of interest and dependency, which will unite part of Germany with her for ever? And what cannot be denied, is, that the present succours, which his majesty shall grant to these princes, will be a pledge to them to demand them for the future, in order to preserve themselves in their new acquisitions, a request which the king can pay on demand. Many people may think, that what I have been saying is purely chimerical; and perhaps I may surprise several, by informing them that the thing, far from being absolutely impossible, as has been imagined, had been long in agitation by third persons; and that on the day it produced itself, by the concurrence of causes so favourable, was on the point of being proposed to the princes concerned, and might very probably have been accepted by them.

But to leave these public and private considerations, let us consider the thing more simply. The king of France had already engaged himself to undertake the support of those princes, had neglected

1609. nothing to attach them to him; had offered them his assistance at all times; had declared in terms sufficiently high, that he would allow no one to use them ill; and had also ordered his troops to advance to the frontiers; so that it was a point of honour and justice of long continuance, and it was inconsistent with his character to recede. Our kings have been rarely insensible to this impulse of generosity, which induces them to support unfortunate princes. This was not precisely the present case. The persons in question had rendered real services to his majesty, and shewn, on all occasions, that nothing but want of power hindered them from performing greater. It became Henry therefore, as a friend and as one obliged, to recollect all that they had done for him in his days of distress. When Francis I. aided Philip Landgrave of Hesse, uncle to the present, to restore duke Ulric to the possession of the duchy of Wirtenburgh; when Henry II. joined Maurice, elector of Saxony, to deliver the German princes oppressed by Charles V. their personal honour only, and that of their crown, induced them to take these steps under very considerable inconveniences. They had fewer inducements than Henry the Great, the motive of affection and gratitude only, more powerful indeed than any others.

And here I may positively contradict those who complain of involving his majesty, out of pure gallantry, in a war with Spain, capable of inflaming all christendom, merely on account of some foreign interest, which might be adjudged without drawing the sword. These are equally ignorant of the nature of the thing, and the consequences of the undertaking. They will at length allow, that, in the present conjuncture, the enterprise which has for its object the assurance of the succession of Cleves to the true heirs, is an affair of so prompt execution, that the public will hardly know of it, but by the effects: that Spain, by making peace with her proper subjects, a peace by which, such is their ruinous
situa-

situation, they are bettered in no respect, hath afforded us a proof of such a political weakness, and exhausted condition, that she must submit to the laws of an imposed neutrality: that the emperor is no longer in a condition to dispute with us, he being defrauded of his succours from one part of Germany; and we, on the other hand, having more means to act than we had for a considerable time. In short, it is a scheme which ought to cost France little more than to say she will execute it. The event hath justified all this beyond contradiction.

This therefore is properly an affair of no consequence, if we consider it as respecting only the business of Cleves, and they who talk in another manner, do it certainly only for this reason; that, speaking according to the rules of politics, it is only an introduction to another more illustrious and extensive, which Europe has observed to be formed by his majesty, for the depression of the house of Austria. I am so sincere as readily to allow that business must be done at once, and such was the advice I gave to my master, who was of the same opinion with myself. Of this I can only convince those who, like me, will examine the affair without passion or prejudice, and of those men I hold myself certain, because their opinion will be the result of every reflection that can be made upon the different schemes by which this design may be carried on. I will give an account of them, such as they rose in my own mind, when I was most deeply engaged in those considerations.

The first opinion, and the least plausible, is to sit quiet and see the parties concerned fight out their quarrel, or at least assist our friends only with our councils. As policy will always direct us not to stand unarmed to look upon those that are at war, it would be necessary to keep a body of troops upon the frontier, if for no other purpose than to take advantage of every change which any moment might produce. By taking this side therefore we make no

1609. alteration in our expences, but that we are obliged to continue them longer than if, by engaging vigorously, we should put an end to it at a blow.

I say the same thing of the second scheme, which appears on the first view sufficiently specious, that is, to support the princes against the house of Austria; not openly, but by secret means, as we have already done in the war of Flanders. The peace subsisting in other respects among all the other powers of Europe, there was reason to fear, lest these private succours should be too weak to enable our allies to resist the two branches of the house of Austria united against them, which is the end to be kept always in view, as is generally agreed; and, in this case, we should have been obliged to keep, at all the three points of land where their contested country borders upon France and Flanders, a body of forces consisting at least of four thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, advantageously posted upon our own ground, or in the neutral country, where however they were to have performed no act of hostility, but only have guarded the passages, kept the enemy at a distance, and prevented the total ruin of those in whose favour we engaged; in this case the expence would have been great, and its consequence only the protraction of that war, which, by taking it vigorously in hand, might be finished at a blow. It is said in a political proverb, *He that gives soon gives twice*; To which I shall add another; *He that gives only half gives twice, and gives nothing*. Of this we have a late example in the revolt of the United Provinces, that this manner of supporting an ally, which upon the whole is equally chargeable with a quick and powerful assistance, has no other effect than to force them soon or late upon an accommodation, when we might have withdrawn them all at once from the dominion of Spain. If this be all the advantage which our alliance will procure to the princes of Germany, we oblige them but little, or not at all, there being this difference between them and Holland, that under
what-

whatever pretensions a treaty is offered them, it can only be intended as a lure, by which the emperor will draw them within his power, and destroy them; and who can tell that we shall not ourselves feel the consequences? It was a just expression of Bongars, *That Leopold in Juliers, is a ferret in a warren.* This scheme therefore is of no other use than to save the king a little personal trouble, who at most would be under no necessity to go farther than Chalons or Rheims.

Between this plan and that of a general combination against the house of Austria, another has been contrived of a middle kind, of which the last Savoy expedition may be given as an instance. In this it is laid down as a supposition, that the allies on each part act as if they had agreed amongst themselves to support the cause only so far as may be necessary to gain the point openly debated, and without pretending to infringe what they had promised for themselves in the treaty of Vervins. If this is not a mere supposition, it appears at least to be a scheme of measures that would be long, expensive, and perplexing, which must begin by a discussion of the proportion of troops, which each of the allies must furnish; and then an enquiry after funds that may support these troops for two years at least, of which the first year, and the three first months of the next, will be spent in going and coming, and settling operations. The winter is rough in that country where the war is to be carried on; and, that the army may not be ruined, the cold must be at an end before any action commences. In an enterprize where the king will not be at the head as chief of the army, it will be sufficient for him to put the troops designed against Cleves under a prince, or a marshal of France; but he must, nevertheless, make the proper preparations, and advance the necessary money, of which the greater sums will be required, as he will have the appearance, however he may endeavour to avoid it, of supporting all this burden alone, or nearly alone.

He

1609. He will be likewise obliged to keep three thousand men in Dauphiné, and the same number in Provence, in Languedoc, and in Guienne. I can then see nothing better to be done, than to chuse a certain number of places so situated as to be able to defend one another, and to serve as a chain to join the country of Cleves with France and the United Provinces; and to fortify these cities, which will again be a considerable expence.

Thus all these reflections bring us back to the first expedient, as the most efficacious, to keep measures no longer with Spain; to treat the house of Austria as the general enemy of Europe; to raise it rivals and adversaries on every side; to pour strong armies upon it; to claim back the country of Cleves; and, when we have made the demand, to do ourselves justice, by seizing upon it, and upon all the places which shall be judged sufficient for the common cause, upon the side of Luxembourg, Limburg, Aix, &c. at the same instant to extend our forces, and cover the frontiers of the Alps and Pyrenees: in a word, to set up the standard, and show to all the world that the day is at last come, for which the king of France has been preparing so many years, and with so much care; that this prince will show himself now proceeding under the direction of honour, armed to revenge one part of the world, for the attacks of an unjust and haughty power; and who then will refuse to follow him? We are assured by our correspondents of almost all Italy and Germany; we take along with us the United Provinces, showing them their enemy by our power removed from their frontiers; we shall untie the hands and the tongues of those powers who are now restrained by fear; and, if our endeavours are not equally supported on all sides, the general resentment, which we may now make use of, will secure us from being thwarted by more than a very small number.

It must be expected that the house of Austria will put heaven and earth into commotion to put aside,

or

or to sustain a blow that threatens their ruin; but when an exact view is taken of all the support which she can be supposed to have, either from herself or her allies, if it be generally confessed that Europe is in a state of agitation from which it cannot be set free, but by long and cruel wars, which will perhaps restore its liberty, and perhaps take it away for ever; can she chuse a better time for the determination of her fate than this, when the hazard is least, and the success most likely? This is what I have now to say, without anticipating the particulars which I have promised to give of the great designs of Henry IV. and the manner in which they were to be put in execution.

It was the partisans of Spain, the supporters of the Old League, the enemies of the protestants, and the disaffected French, jealous of the king's glory, and the kingdom's prosperity, who used their utmost endeavours to dissuade his majesty from engaging in those great designs, which he had formed; but, finding that all their efforts had proved ineffectual, and that he was upon the point of carrying them into execution, they exerted all the arts which yet remained. They took advantage of Henry's propensity to pleasure, and sought to raise a conflict in his mind, between his desire of fame and those inclinations which made a soft and voluptuous life too alluring. Again they endeavoured to fill him with suspicions of the whole body of protestants in general, and of me in particular: they placed before his eyes his kingdom torn to pieces by factions, who eagerly expected a war, at a time when they might act their treasons with impunity; and the princes his associates, as artful deceivers, who laughed at his vain projects. There were some moments when Henry, tho' upon his guard against this sort of artifice, suffered himself to be shaken by it; and I myself perhaps contributed to discourage him without knowing it, by representing to him, that a prince, who had expanded his heart to entertain designs so noble,

1609. noble, ought to begin the execution of them, by shutting out all fondness for trifling amusements, and expences, which had only mere conveniency in view: that, on a like occasion, Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile, and several of our own kings, had lessened the expences of their household; as likewise those of the queen. In a word, I told him that he ought no more to think of pleasure, but in vanquishing his enemies; or, at least, till victory was his own.

It happened very fortunately to fix the wavering mind of Henry, that the German princes, of their own accord, and in opposition to the emperor, held an assembly at Hall, in Suabia, to deliberate upon the means of restoring the circles to their former liberty. They met there on the day appointed, to the number of eighteen or twenty*. The Venetians, the prince of Orange, the States of Holland, and the duke of Savoy, who had at last taken a resolution to engage in the common cause, sent deputies thither to represent them; the manifestos, which were carefully circulated, joined to the public discourse; and what was privately intimated by Boissise†, and other agents of his majesty, had so good an effect, that it was publicly deliberated to stop the progress of the house of Austria; and it was resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to his most christian majesty, in the name of the assembled powers, to offer him all their forces, and to demand a promise of his, when required. These ambassadors were appointed, and set out directly.

Henry had just given them their first audience, when he came to the Arsenal to tell me all they had said and offered, and to consult with me upon the answer he should give to their proposals. He desired me to consider the matter attentively, while he

* See the names of these princes, M. de Boissise's speech, the manner and resolutions of this assembly, in Vol. 2765, MSS.R.—Mem.d'état

de Villeroi, Vol. III p. 230, & seq. —Merc. Franç. anno 1610. Siri, ib. Vol. IV. p. 68.

† John de Thumery de Boissise.

went

went to dine at Zamet's; adding, that he would return, and pass part of the afternoon with me in my garden, where he appointed me to meet him. 1609.

We met there accordingly, and Henry, taking my hand, ordered every one to retire, and went to the terrace, which was the place where we usually held our most serious conversations. "Well, said his majesty, what do you think of our affairs; for some are of one opinion, and some of another." This appearing to me a favourable opportunity to confirm him in his resolution, I shewed him plainly, that those who opposed it were doubtless excited to do so by secret motives, which I seemed to be ignorant of; since, if we examined things in three principal points of view, namely, with regard to his own person, the state of affairs within his kingdom, and of those without, there were no difficulties to be comprehended; for, without flattery, he was, in the opinion of the French nation, superior to the greatest warriors and statesmen of his age; and that such a school could not fail of producing men excellent in both capacities, as it had already done, which would assist him in bearing the weight of a new burden he was preparing for himself and them. With regard to the affairs at home, there were neither princes, grandees, nor cities in his kingdom, which were in a condition, who were disposed, or had the means of retarding his enterprise, much less presume to attack him, when they saw him at the head of all the forces of Europe: and, besides this, he was going to open a theatre where those braggarts would find occasions of signalizing themselves much more gloriously than in dark plots, where nothing was to be gained but infamy: and, lastly, as to the affairs without the kingdom, the difficulty of uniting so many powers in the same design, which had hitherto been considered as the only one to be feared, would be happily removed in a very short time.

"And

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“ And now, Sire, said I, all that remains to be considered, is, whether you have the means of continuing the war as long as it is necessary upon the same foot as you are going to begin it; for I see plainly, that France is the hinge upon which all must turn: therefore, pursued I, I think it fit to tell your majesty, that with regard to the chief point, which is money, provided your war continues only three years, and that you have not occasion for more than forty thousand men, I will supply you with money sufficient for them, without laying any new tax upon your people; and as for other things, such as provisions, ammunition, and artillery, I will shew you such a quantity of them, that you shall acknowledge there is enough; and then, I believe, we shall make war in such a manner, that of the three standards, white, black, and red *, we shall not need to display any but the first, and that once for all: the fate of those who first resist will be a lesson for all the rest.” “ But not to interrupt you,” said his majesty to me, “ pray, how much money have I? for I never yet knew exactly.” “ How much do you think you have, Sire?” replied I. “ Have I twelve millions?” said he. “ A little more,” said I. “ How! fourteen?” resumed he, going on still augmenting it two millions more each time, because my constant answer was *a little more*, till he came to thirty millions. “ Oh! I ask no more,” cried he, embracing me in a transport of joy. “ I have drawn up a paper, said I, by which your majesty will find that you may depend upon a new fund of forty millions extraordinary, without encroaching upon the usual expences of your household and the state, upon a supposition, however, that my œconomy is not traversed.” “ And

* By this expression, the author means, that no prince or state would refuse to join their forces to those of the confederates, after their in-

tention was once made, and after they had punished the first who should endeavour to oppose them.

“ where

"where is this paper?" said Henry precipitately. 1609.
 "I will give it you, Sire, I replied, whenever you
 please, written with my own hand."

I afterwards shewed his majesty a way how to be assisted, both in men and money, by his allies, provided that he would continue fixed in this part of his designs, in pursuance of which, as we had agreed, he would enrich them with all the conquests he gained from the house of Austria, without reserving any thing for himself. "How! said Henry, would you have me expend sixty millions in conquering territories for others, and keep nothing for myself? And pray what is to become of Spain? you say nothing of her." "Spain, Sire, I replied, is to remain as she is: we must not take any thing from her king: she must serve to keep all those whom your liberalities have enriched under the shadow of your protection, a king of Spain being always powerful enough to oppress them separately; when no longer supported by you, they will never fail in the gratitude and respect they owe you." I likewise, without having recourse to that general maxim, That too great extent of territory rather weakens than strengthens a government, easily brought Henry to acknowledge, that many inconveniencies would attend his appropriating the conquered countries to himself; that it would be a subject for eternal hatred and jealousy; and, all things considered, the greatest and most solid advantage he could acquire by his conquests, if he distributed them with equity, was, a right of being regarded as the sole benefactor and arbitrator of Europe.

What I most earnestly recommended to him, was, to guard against every possible reverse of fortune; as, for example, if he should be abandoned or betrayed by his allies, to have it always in his power to bring back his armies into his own kingdom, not only without danger, but with honour; to facilitate which, nothing was more necessary than to build forts at pro-

1609. proper distances on the road of Clèves. To this piece of advice, I added another, which was to provide great plenty of provisions in the neighbourhood of those provinces; for, besides that, it was not easy to carry them through a country so enclosed and crossed by rivers as that was; the whole canton was divided among several little princes, who had already gathered in the fruits of the present harvest, great part of it being pillaged before: that it would be scarce possible for an army to subsist there fifteen days, without being obliged to have recourse to the magazines of those princes, where every thing would be set at so high a price, that all his money would scarcely suffice to purchase what was wanted. I therefore told his majesty, that I would, if he consented to it, send for the merchants with whom I used formerly to treat, when I had any great enterprises in hand, and would agree with them for every thing we had occasion for at a reasonable price.

The king, at parting, collecting in one view all that I had said to him, told me, that he was going to consider of the resolution it was proper for him to take, and desired that I would not neglect to examine every thing with the deepest attention; that he would come very often and confer with me; and that I might begin to make all those preparations I had mentioned; by which I concluded that I had obtained part, at least, of what I desired.

I sent for the merchants of Liege, Aix, Triers, and Cologne, with whom I made the following agreement: That they should furnish me, in the space of three months, with all sorts of ammunition, provisions, forage, and warlike stores, and send them to that part of the frontier near Clèves, which I should appoint. I had drawn up an exact list of every think which was necessary for an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and five thousand horse, at the same price they bore in the present fair the month of October: that I, on my side, should advance them the sum of six hundred thousand crowns, which

which should remain in their hands a year at least, giving them at Paris a million for security of this sum, which was to indemnify them for the expences of purchase, selling at loss, waste, and other accidents. 1609.

The king was so well pleased with my proceedings, that he ordered me to put the finishing hand to them, and, in the overflowings of his joy, recounted all to Sillery, Villeroi, and Jeannin, and afterwards to the count of Soissons, cardinal Joyeuse*, the duke of Epemon, and several others, some of whom applied themselves with such malice and dexterity to make him believe that I had drawn him into my snares, by sending those magazines out of the kingdom, which I had long wished for an opportunity of doing, to appropriate them to myself, that this prince, tho' already prejudiced against every thing which came from them, at length swallowed the poison; and when he saw me, some days afterwards, asked me if the contract for provisions was signed. I replied it was not; because I thought it a thing of too much consequence to be done without a previous application to the council, which had not met since. Henry, who in this procedure ought to have found nothing but exactness, thought it had an appearance of falshood and artful precaution, which confirmed his suspicions, and therefore bid me not conclude the bargain till I had an order from him. "Sire," replied I, still ignorant of his meaning, "the merchants will not stay." "If they will not stay," resumed he, with the same dryness and reserve, "they may go back again." This opened my eyes, and anger being now roused in my breast as well as his, "I begin to perceive, Sire, said I, that you have something in your thoughts which I am not to know: I shall send the merchants back, since you will have it so; but you will be pleased to remember this affair another time."

* Francis de Joyeuse.

1609. Saying this we separated with great coldness on both sides.

No more mention was made of the provisions till a long time after, when the king coming to the Arsenal to confer with me upon other affairs, before some of his courtiers, as usual, took me aside, and said, "I have been informed that the States of Holland will send ambassadors to me in a few days, to settle all that we are to do: in the mean time, let us make the necessary preparations, that nothing may be wanting on our part." This was all he said then. The deputies arrived soon after with letters from the prince of Orange and the council of the States, for his majesty and for me. Henry opened them all, and finding that they assured him they would answer for the success of his enterprise, provided he would take the precaution to have all the necessary provisions upon the spot, giving him the same advice on this occasion as I myself had done, he began to be disabused, and, closing my letters again, gave them to L'Oserai to carry to me. I found out this artifice immediately, and thought it allowable to return it with another, for as good a purpose. I sealed my letters, after I had read them as he had done, and agreed with L'Oserai that he should bring them to me, as if for the first time, when the king, who was to come in the afternoon to the Arsenal, was with me.

Henry came accordingly, and began the conversation, by asking me if I had received letters from Messieurs the States: "For I am informed, said he, that there are some for you." "I have not got them, Sir," replied I. "You will have them soon, resumed the king; for I have given orders to have them brought to you, and mine also: but, in the mean time, let us talk about the provisions; for we shall go at a time when there is none to be got." "I foresaw this long ago, Sir," said I, and I would have given proper orders for every thing that was necessary: you yourself not
 " only

“ only approved of my dispatch, but even com-
 “ manded it. However you have, by the malice
 “ of my enemies, been persuaded to alter your re-
 “ solution, the inconveniency of which will, I am
 “ afraid, fall heavy upon you; for that which
 “ might have been had easily, and at a moderate
 “ price, at that time, which was the season of har-
 “ vest; will be very dearly and with difficulty pur-
 “ chased now; and, what is still worse, I know not
 “ whether any one will be bold enough to undertake
 “ to furnish with provisions an army of more than
 “ a hundred and fifty thousand men, and thirty
 “ thousand horses.” “ Who will undertake it?”
 “ replied Henry; why you, unless you have an in-
 “ clination to offend me.” “ I would rather die
 “ than offend you, Sire, said I; but you ought not
 “ to lay your commands upon me to do what is now
 “ become impossible; since you would not permit
 “ me to do it at a proper time.” “ Let us speak
 “ no more of what is past, resumed the king; think
 “ only of the future. You must undertake this
 “ affair yourself, and, to your other posts and em-
 “ ployments, add that of superintendant of provi-
 “ sions. I desire, as a friend, that you will accept
 “ of this office; for I know, if you act as you have
 “ always done, you will acquit yourself well in it.”

I represented to his majesty very seriously, that I
 had already sufficient business upon my hands in the
 care of the artillery, which alone, and in the present
 conjuncture especially, might employ four persons;
 besides which, I had all the ordinary expences of the
 state to provide, those of his majesty's household, the
 queen's, and their children; as likewise of the for-
 tifications, buildings, and other public works; and,
 lastly, for all his troops, either at home or abroad.
 “ How! interrupted Henry, do you really refuse
 “ then to grant a request, which I make you as one
 “ friend would another? If you continue thus ob-
 “ stinate, I shall believe that you no longer love
 “ me; and that you really nourish those designs,

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“ which, for a long time, endeavours have been
“ used to persuade me you do.” “ What, Sire,”
said I hastily (taking advantage of the words which
had escaped him) “ am I then indeed so unhappy,
“ that, when I sacrifice my life for your service,
“ your honour, and your fame, you should still
“ return, and on the slightest suggestions, to sus-
“ picions of my fidelity. This, I confess, wounds
“ me cruelly, deprives me of all courage to serve
“ you, and will at length put an end to my life.”
“ Well,” resumed Henry, who had resolved to
expose me to all kinds of assaults, “ since you think
“ in this manner, I shall easily find a remedy for all
“ these difficulties: we must break off our journey,
“ pass the time as well as we can, and live in peace
“ with all the world; agree with all parties, and
“ give them money to make them easy: for we
“ have amassed a great quantity, and we will use it
“ for that purpose.” “ It is well resolved on, Sire,”
replied I; and, for myself, I declare, that I am
“ satisfied, since it will free me from many vexa-
“ tions, watchings, labours, reproaches, and dan-
“ gers.”

Henry interrupted me here with an emotion of
rage he was not able to restrain, and reproached me
with being a dissembler. “ I know, said he, that
“ what you have said, is far from being your real
“ thoughts or desires: it is you who would be most
“ grieved if we do not make war, which you have
“ so long and so earnestly pressed me to do.” “ It
“ is true, Sire, replied I, that I think fortune pre-
“ sents you with a favourable opportunity to acquire
“ honour and fame, if you are disposed to improve
“ it; but, if not, it is fit that your servants should
“ pretend not to see it. I added, that his great de-
“ signs not only turned upon his own person, but
“ also depended so entirely upon himself, that, as
“ he alone would secure the success, so likewise, by
“ one single gesture, or word imprudently uttered,
“ he might ruin them for ever.” At length, hav-
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ing endeavoured to hit upon a medium which might 1609.
 compose the difference between us, "If your ma-
 "jesty, said I, will be pleased to commit the super-
 "intendance of the provisions to Messieurs Jeannin
 "and Caumartin, I promise to assist them with my
 "advice, my labour, and my credit, and also with
 "men and money, with a solicitude as great as
 "if my life depended upon it: but, if I under-
 "take the office alone, you will never be persuad-
 "ed to believe, that the difficulties which may arise
 "have any other cause than my negligence or want
 "of attachment to you." "Well! replied Henry,
 "I shall see what is to be done. However, if those
 "persons will not engage in the affair without you,
 "you must prepare to labour in conjunction with
 "them, unless you resolve to see me break off my
 "journey." L'Oserai entering that moment with
 the letters, he received a severe reprimand from the
 king, for neglecting to bring them to me before.

From this time his majesty was continually em-
 ployed in making preparations for his great enter-
 prise. The councils which were held from thence
 forwards were kept very secret, and most frequently
 met at the Arsenal. The king always admitted M.
 de Vendôme to these councils; and laboured to in-
 struct him, as well in all affairs of state, as of war.
 He perceived, that there was a little coldness be-
 tween this prince and myself; and, being resolved to
 reconcile us, took the following method to effect it:
 "I have been informed," said he to me one day,
 "that my son de Vendôme, and yours, are at va-
 "riance with each other. I am desirous of recon-
 "ciling them: send for your son to-morrow morn-
 "ing at eight o'clock into your closet; I will bring
 "my son thither at that hour, and talk to them
 both." Accordingly, when we were met, Henry
 took the young men, each by the hand, and said to
 them, "You see how greatly I love M. de Sully,
 "and with what freedom I live with him. I would
 "have you two on the same terms with each other;

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“ and follow our advice, we who are old and experi-
 “ enced, to the end, that your youth may support
 “ itself with the prop of our age. And you, my
 “ son, honour and respect the duke of Sully as my-
 “ self; and often visit him, that you may learn
 “ from him the art of war, and method to be used
 “ in business of state: through his affection for me,
 “ he will communicate his knowledge to you as
 “ freely as to his own son, whom I desire you
 “ would love as your brother; and I command you
 “ both to bury in oblivion whatever may have oc-
 “ casioned any abatement of your former friend-
 “ ship.”

I saw with pleasure some new obstacle removed every day. The alliance, which had been proposed to the duke of Savoy*, and which had been already mentioned, was eagerly accepted. The king of Sweden offered himself as an ally to France; and, to connect the interests of both crowns more securely, gave the king to understand that it would be in France where he would seek for a wife for the prince his son, who, young as he was, courageously seconded all his brave resolutions. The kings of England and Denmark were already above half gained. The protestants of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and the upper Austria, stimulated by our agents, and yet more determined by the cruelties which the emperor's ministers, excited by the jesuits, practised upon them, had lately assured us, that, as soon as the war should be declared, they would make a powerful diversion in those bor-

* See the treaty concluded this year between France and Savoy, in Nevers's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 332, and the definitive treaty signed at Brusol, the 25th of April, in the year following; by which the king of France engages, amongst other things, to put the duke of Savoy in possession of the Milanese, ib. p. 380. This treaty is set forth, according to the Italian original, by

Vittorio Siri, ib. Vol. II. p. 236. But this writer contradicts himself, by saying, Vol. I. p. 312, that it was the duke of Sully who negotiated this agreement between France and Savoy; and asserting afterwards, p. 366, that it was the duke of Sully's intention the duke of Savoy should reap no other advantage from it, than only to obtain the protection of France.

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ders of Germany. We found, by letters from Bon-gars, and the Landgrave of Hesse, that the elector of Saxony would not be prevailed upon to take part against the emperor; but, to make amends for this bad news, the elector of Bavaria entered into an unlimited engagement with us, upon condition that he should be chosen to succeed the emperor, and actually named king of the Romans. The Swiss cantons appeared very favourably disposed towards us. In a word, none could resist the allurements of those conquests, which all were made to expect. The Pope himself, the most difficult in appearance to be gained, shewed he was not insensible: upon my telling the nuncio one day, that I intended to make his master a king, he thanked me for this news, which, he said, was the best he could ever impart to his holiness.

But a resource still more certain, which we had begun to make use of, in case of a refusal from the sovereign Pontiff, and all the little states of Italy, as Florence, Mantua, Montferrat, Modena, Urbino, Genoa, and Lucca, was to march with an army into the Milanois, and force them all either to join or contribute, at least, some sums of money to the common armament. Lesdiguières had been commissioned to set on foot a body of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, with a train of artillery consisting of twelve pieces of cannon; and while he was employed in making these levies, I set apart every month a fund of a hundred thousand crowns for their maintenance, the assignments for which were expediated and already sent. I expected that the duke of Savoy, the Venetians, who were the most zealous for, as indeed they were the most interested in this part of the scheme, and the Pope, in case we could prevail upon him to declare himself, would each furnish as much,

The storm began now to gather towards Germany. They had actually levied, for the great army

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which

1609. which was destined for Cleves, twenty thousand foot, four thousand horse, and got ready a train of artillery consisting of no less than fifty cannons: the carriages, horses, mules, and all the rest of the baggage in proportion were alike well furnished, and in a fit condition for service. The levies finished, the army began to file off towards Cleves. Although the war was not yet declared, the company of two hundred men of arms, called the queen's, of which I was captain-lieutenant, received orders to be at Mézieres, on the last day of July, complete and fully equipped.

The king, who delayed to set up his standard till the next spring should afford a proper time to take the field, resolved to avoid every thing that might look like invasion till within ten days of his setting out. He wrote to the archduke, acquainting him, that, being solicited by the lawful heirs of the duke of Cleves to assist them against certain persons, who, supported by several powerful princes, attempted to possess themselves of their dominions, he could not refuse to aid them; and, as the road his army was to take lay through his territory, he entreated him to consent to his marching through as a friend; that he would commit no act of hostility, unless forced to it; and would keep his troops under exact discipline. The archduke's answer, which did not arrive till after his majesty's death, was to this effect:

“ My lord, It is in the quality of one of the
 “ humblest of your servants, that I entreat you will
 “ march through my territories: my gates shall be
 “ open to you, and provisions at your service, rely-
 “ ing upon the assurance your majesty will, I hope,
 “ be pleased to give, that no act of hostility shall
 “ be committed during your march.”

Such was the state of affairs in France at the conclusion of the year 1609, the last months of which Henry had solely employed in bringing his scheme to perfection. The beginning of the following year
 pro-

produced no change in his resolutions, nor intermission to his labour: he was so entirely engrossed by them, that he often made very indiscreet confidences. On New-year's Day, when I went to make him the usual compliments and presents, he was so well pleased with the device of the medals I brought him, that he put two of them in his pocket to shew to some of the courtiers. Upon these medals was represented the globe of the earth, self-balanced in the midst of an atmosphere, and assaulted, in vain, by winds and storms; with these words in Latin upon the exergue of the medal, *Suo se pondere fulcit*; altogether expressing the analogy between this emblem and the condition of our affairs, which, by the wise government of Henry, was capable of triumphing over all the efforts of our enemies. His majesty, at his rising from dinner, found the count of Soissons and the cardinals de Joyeuse and Du-Perron conversing together in his library: he shewed them the medals; and these gentlemen, to please him, enlarged upon the praises he bestowed on me, saying, that I was so much the more worthy of them, as, that in men of quality, a taste for the belles lettres was seldom found united with the talents necessary to form a complete statesman and soldier.

I was present at this discourse, together with many other persons, who had followed the king into the library. He ordered all to retire, except M. de Vendôme, that he might converse with those I have first mentioned. La-Varenne and Béringhen staid likewise; but kept near the door. I was extremely uneasy when I heard his majesty begin to talk of his great project before several persons whom I knew were not all equally well affected to his interest; and my uneasiness encreased upon his saying, That he would give Spain and the house of Austria such a blow, as would prevent them, for the future, from being considered as formidable enemies by France, whatever change might happen, either
with

1609. with regard to the royal family, or in the form of his government. These words were sufficiently imprudent; but he did not stop here, and was upon the point of betraying his secret, by discovering circumstances of great importance. He no longer remembered what he had often said to me the year before, That he was beset with men who were continually laying snares for him, to penetrate into the bottom of his heart, and whose curiosity, on this occasion, could not but proceed from a very bad motive.

I took the liberty to pull him by the cloak, without any one's perceiving it, which he understood so well, that he stopped short as if he had forgot something; "My memory, said he, grows extremely bad: I cannot recollect the names of persons, cities, and countries. I entreat you." pursued he, turning to me, "to draw up memorials of all my own designs, their causes, and the expedients necessary for effecting them: as likewise to give me in writing the substance of all the conversations we have had together on these subjects, as far back as you can recollect, that, when my memory is refreshed, I may communicate all to such of my servants whom I judge most worthy of my confidence." Thus did he extricate himself from the necessity he was under of saying more, since he had said so much. I replied, that I would not fail to give him those memorials he required; but that the work was not so short, nor so easy to be executed, as that I could promise to satisfy him, unless I had prepared those papers long before: notwithstanding which, I was apprehensive that they would be defective in many circumstances, which I could only know from his own mouth, and upon which we had only had short and interrupted conferences. The conversation ended in this manner.

The king took part of the courtiers with him to hunt, and I went home to collect my papers, and put them in order. Some of those upon the affairs of

of the finances were of great importance; but did not directly relate to his majesty's vast designs. I set apart such as I judged most necessary, and six days afterwards carried them to his majesty, telling him, when I presented them, that those persons, who looked with an evil eye upon his project, would be much more mortified if they knew what I had to shew him. "What! said the king, have you then concealed any thing of importance upon this subject from me? I know not how to believe it." I answered, that was not the case; but that a thousand things, which, mentioned separately, are difficult to be remembered, when collected together strike the imagination more forcibly.

Among the papers I left with his majesty, those which related to his design were only general ones. When he had examined them, he came to the Arsenal, and, shutting himself up with me in my closet, "I have read your memorials, said he, several times; there are many good things in them easily to be understood and executed; but there are others that require some consideration, and in which I do not think you will find your account." "I expected, Sire, replied I, to hear you speak thus; but, before you go any farther, I beg you will allow me to tell you, that I have two other papers to shew you, which, I am persuaded, will clear up all your doubts, and satisfy you entirely." "Oh, have you so? said the king; Well, give them to me; I will read them at my leisure, and then tell you my sentiments of them." In effect, these second memorials contained only some explanations of the former, and satisfactory answers to the doubts which might be raised, or difficulties that might be alledged. In these, likewise, the king found how great a number of soldiers it was necessary to raise for the execution of his vast designs, and what money it would require to maintain them.

The

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The king was eager to see these other papers, and came himself for them to the Arsenal. He took his reading glass, which lay upon a table in my closet, and read them quite through with great attention, declaring afterwards, that the memorials I had given him, eight days before, were sufficiently explained by these; and that he now began to entertain hopes of success, seeing that such vast sums were at present amassed, or might be very easily. "For, provided we have money, said he, I know I shall not want soldiers, courage, or diligence." "I am sure of it, Sire, said I; and there is nothing too great for you to perform, or above what I expect from you. But here," added I, shewing him a little paper written and signed with my own hand, "is something which will remove all your doubts." Henry looking upon it, and perceiving that it was an account of what sums were then actually in his coffers, which amounted to thirty-six millions, embraced me eagerly three times; then, folding it up carefully and rising, "These two papers, said he, have given me great pleasure. I see there is a secure fund for my expences." "You must not think," Sire, replied I, as we came out of the closet, "that this is all I am able to do; no, in a case of extreme necessity I may perhaps find the means of producing you as much more: your kingdom is so fertile and opulent, that it cannot be drained, provided good management be used; and that the money destined for the war be not applied to other purposes." I shall not give the reader the trouble of examining all these accounts in this place, as I propose to insert them exactly, in the exposition I shall shortly make of Henry's great designs.

His majesty went again to Fontainebleau at the beginning of March; but he staid there only fifteen days: and, by the letters I received from him during that time, it was plain he never lost sight of his project. They all turned upon circumstances relating

ing to the war: in one, he mentions recruiting the five companies of the regiment of Piemont to two hundred men each: in another, a company of light horse, which he had commanded Saubise to raise, giving him twelve thousand livres for that purpose; and ordered me to carry it to account immediately: in another, he directed me to confer with the chancellor Villeroi and Jeannin about all that was necessary for furnishing his troops with provisions, and to chuse the magazines along the Maes preferably to all others: in another of his letters, he laid down the order that was to be observed in levying his soldiers, their march to the place of rendezvous, their enrolment, and many other details of the same kind. This letter was addressed more particularly to me, because it related to the levies which were to be made in my government.

I shall suppress, as usual, several other letters like those of the former years, which turned wholly upon small payments, and affairs of the finances; and shall transcribe only one, which the king thought proper to send me, in answer to some words that had escaped me, concerning the pleasure he took in hunting, and in residing at Fontainebleau. “ My friend, I have heard what you said upon my hunting, and my stay here; but do not imagine, that the pleasure I find in either shall lessen my attention to make the necessary preparations for our journey, or the raising my army, in all that depends upon me: do you only take care to provide money and artillery, that nothing may be wanting; but more especially provisions: for, according to the account you have given me of the ambassadors necessary to be sent to the foreign courts, the presidents Jeannin and Caumartin must be of the number. The others I leave to your choice; for to you I shall apply on every occasion. I have often considered what you said to me concerning my wife and another person, and the promises you exact from me. I shall speak to
“ you

1609. " you more fully on this subject when I see you;
 " which will be in two days. Adieu, my friend:
 " Fontainebleau, March 15."

Henry, at his return from Fontainebleau, employed the remainder of March, and all April entirely, in putting the finishing hand to every thing that still remained to be done for opening the campaign, which he was resolved to do as soon as possible. He came frequently to the Arsenal, and remained many hours shut up with me alone. The time passed away very swiftly while we discoursed upon the accomplishment of his great designs; and a thousand considerations, which, at the eve of so important an enterprize, presented themselves to his mind, both with respect to foreign affairs and the necessary disposition of those at home, that no inconvenience and disorder might attend his absence. For this purpose, the king ordered me to compose a long memorial upon war and affairs of state, which, after we had together examined every particular, he took pleasure in correcting with his own hand.

His majesty appointed the following persons to reside in the quality of ambassadors in the several courts of Europe, while he was employed in the execution of his great design: My brother was to be sent to Rome, and the other principalities and republics of Italy, who had not yet declared for the confederacy; Bullion to the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy; Caumartin to the Swiss cantons, Grisons, and their allies; Schomberg to the dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, and Brunswick, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the other princes and cities of Germany, which had not yet entered into the alliance; Bongars to Hungary, Bohemia, and Transilvania; Boissise to Denmark, Sweden, and the cities situated upon the Baltic; Jeannin to Great Britain and the United Provinces, and the heirs of the principality of Clèves; Ancel to Vienna and Poland; Préaux to the archdukes, and Montglat to Constantinople.

The

The government at home was destined for the queen, with the title of regent, assisted by a council, without which she could not conclude any thing; and which his majesty composed of the cardinals de Joyeuse and Du-Perron; the dukes of Maienne, Montmorency, and Montbazou; the marshals Brisac and Fervaques, Messieurs de Châteauneuf, keeper of the seal of the regency, de Harlay, de Nicolai, de Châteaueux, de Liancourt, de Bont-carré, de Gêvres, de Villemontée, and de Maupeou. This council was not only obliged to act conformably to the instructions which were given them, but were also tied up from determining any thing upon affairs of great consequence, till they had first informed and consulted his majesty upon them. This great council had under it fourteen smaller ones, composed each of five persons chosen out of the clergy, the noblesse, the lawyers, financiers, and the magistrates of the city of Paris. The number of these little councils was regulated by that of the provinces, or governments into which the kingdom was divided, in the following order: The isle of France, Brittany, Normandy, Picardy, Champaign, Burgundy, Bresse, Lyonnois, Forez, Beaujolais; and Auvergne, Dauphiné, Guyenne, Poitou, Aunis, Xaintonge, Angoumois; and Limosin, Orleans, Anjou; and Touraine, Maine, Perche, Berry, Bourbon, Nivernois, and La-Marche.

About this time, preparations of a very different nature were making in Paris, which Henry beheld with a deep regret; I mean, the ceremony of the queen's coronation. He had so strong a reluctance to it, that no motive, less powerful than his complaisance for the queen, could have forced him to consent to it. That princess, as soon as she had obtained an order for this ceremony, hurried on the preparations with the utmost eagerness. I have already mentioned the reasons her creatures urged for her speedy coronation; reasons which must appear very extravagant, or highly criminal. Henry proposed

1609. posed to leave Paris immediately after the ceremony; and, as this could not occasion a longer delay than fifteen days, orders were issued for all the troops, both horse and foot, to begin their march directly to Champaign. The six thousand Swiss, which the king had caused to be levied, were conducted to Mouson by the duke of Rohan, who had gone to the frontier to receive them. I sent away all the ordnance. Never before had France seen a train of artillery so complete and so well furnished; and perhaps never will again. My son put himself at the head of it, by virtue of his post of grand master, which his majesty had been so good to give him the survivance of. I prepared to follow soon after with eight millions of money.

At length the king gave the signal of his departure to the foreign powers, by the letter he wrote to the archduke; and here it follows, such as it was composed by me, and such as the duke received, if Villeroy, through whose hands it passed, as secretary of state, did not alter it, which he had a great inclination to do.

“ BROTHER,

“ Since I cannot refuse, to my best allies and
 “ confederates, the assistance they require of me,
 “ against those who dispute with them the succe-
 “ sion to the duchies and earldoms of Clèves, Ju-
 “ liers, La-Mark, Bergh, Ravensburg, and Ra-
 “ vestein, I am preparing to march thither with
 “ my whole army; and, because my road lies
 “ through your territories, I am willing to give
 “ you notice of it, and know of you whether I am
 “ to enter your country as a friend or an enemy;
 “ so, in expectation of your answer, I beseech
 “ God,” &c.

I know not what judgment ought to be formed of a report which prevailed at that time, and was confirmed to the king, at Fontainebleau, by Girard, who arrived at Brussels on the 7th of March, that
 in

in the court and dominions of the archduke, people were persuaded the king of France pretended to have great designs, only with a view to strike terror into his enemies; and they were so certain that this was the sole aim of his armament, that they made not the least preparations for opposing him. The latter part of this news might be true, as in effect it was; yet the archduke was not so easy as he pretended to appear, otherways he would have thought very differently from every other person who had an interest in Spain and the house of Austria. Their consternation was inexpressible; for, while their adversary's party, which at the foreign courts was called the French faction, wore an air of joy and triumph, which seemed to arise from an assurance of success, the Austrian party was silent, dejected, and inactive; the objects of the public detestation, and trembled lest they should soon be the public victims likewise. No possibility appeared of avoiding the thunder, which was preparing to burst upon their heads: but, alas! why do I exult thus unseasonably? they had but too many resources*; it was not by en-

* "It is out of doubt, says Pé-
"réfixe, that there were many
"conspiracies against the life of
"this good king; since he had no-
"tice of it from different quarters;
"since printed accounts of his
"death were published at Spain
"and at Milan; since a courier
"passed through the city of Liege,
"eight days before he was assassi-
"nated, who said, he was going
"with news, to the princes of
"Germany, of his being killed;
"and since, at Montargis, a note
"was found on the altar, contain-
"ing a prediction of his approach-
"ing death, by a method deter-
"mined upon," &c. p. 409.

The archbishop of Embrun, Ho-
norius Du-Lawrens, brother of the
king's first physician, being in
company with other prelates, said,
at the very time the king was mur-
dered; "It is impossible but some

"mischief must happen to the king
"from the present situation of af-
"fairs; perhaps at this very time we
"are talking of him, some disaster
"happens to him." It is letter of
Nicholas Pasquier. "A priest of
"Douay said, at the moment of
"his assassination, they were mur-
"dering the greatest monarch on
"earth.—The sister of Villars-
"Houdan, governor of Dieppe, a
"nun at St. Paul in Picardy, said
"to her abbess; Madam, order
"prayers to be said for the king,
"for they are murdering him:
"and, a moment after; Alas! he
"is killed." Matthieu, ib. p. 835.
Pasquier says further, in the same
letter, that La-Font, provost of
Bayonne, in 1608, came to the
king to give him notice that there
was a design formed against his per-
son; and that, two or three days
before this prince was stabbed, the

1609. treaties, nor a noble despair with which they were inclined to oppose a prince whom Europe had chosen to defend and avenge her. The head, which gave motion to this great body, must be laid low, and that by a murder. Never had treachery, poisoning, assassination, gained a triumph so infamously great; a triumph so shameful, so detested, that no words can express all its horror. With grief I proceed to acquaint the reader with the particulars of that fatal accident, the remembrance of which still draws tears of blood from my heart.

What shall we think of those black prefaces, which, it is but too certain, this miserable prince had of his cruel destiny? they were indeed dreadful, and surprising to the last degree*. I have already

same La-Font again told the chancellor, that he who was to kill the king was actually in Paris; that it had been revealed to him, &c. This fact is the same mentioned by Du-Pleix, p. 411, under the name of a gentleman of Bearne. Pasquier adds, that a merchant of Douay, writing, fifteen days before this murder happened, to a merchant at Rouen, asked if it was true that the king was killed. One of the principal inhabitants of Cambrai said, eight days before, "This old man has great designs, but he will not go much farther;" and many other circumstances of the like kind. There are also some particulars mentioned in the first volume of the life of Mary de Médicis, p. 63; and in many other writings.

* Marshal Bassompierre speaks of it in his Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 292, & seq. in the following manner: "He said to me, a little before that time, I do not know, Bassompierre, what is the matter with me; but I cannot persuade myself I shall ever go to Germany; nor can I believe thou wilt go into Italy. He often said to me and others, I be-

lieve I shall die soon.----The queen had a violent inclination to be crowned before the king's departure for Germany; but the king was no way desirous of it, as well to avoid the expense, as because he was not at all fond of such great festivals." It is highly probable this prince carefully concealed from every one but M. de Sully, the true motives which induced him to be against this ceremony. Nevertheless, continues this writer, as he was the best husband in the world, he consented to it, and deferred his journey to Germany, till after she should have made her public entry into Paris. The coronation of the queen was performed with the utmost magnificence it was capable of. The king was unusually gay during the ceremony. The king said to her, the duke of Guise, and to me also; You none of you know me thoroughly: but I shall die one of these days; and, when you have lost me, you will find what I really was, and the difference between me and other men. I said to him;

related

related with what reluctance he permitted the ceremony of the queen's coronation to go forward; the nearer the moment approached, the more his terrors

"Good God, Sire, will you always disquiet yourself thus, and continually talk of your dying soon? These expressions are not proper. You will still live, please God, many happy years. There is no happiness comparable to yours: you are in the flower of your age, in perfect health and strength of body; more laden with honours than any other mortal; enjoying, with the greatest tranquillity, the most flourishing kingdom in the world; loved, and even adored by your subjects; possessed of great estates, and money in abundance; fine houses; a beautiful wife; handsome children, growing up apace. What can you wish for more? He, sighing, answered, My friend, I must lose them all soon," &c.

"It was observed, say L'Etoile's Memoirs, that, on throwing gold and silver medals among the people, according to custom, there was no cry of *God save the king, or God save the queen.*" I shall pass over, continues this writer, the dreams it was reported, both his majesty and the queen had that night, of a house falling on him in the street called La-Ferronnerie, &c. It is an indisputable fact, that about six months ago, the king being at Zamets, and having dined there, he retired alone into a room, saying he would lie down; and sent for Thomassin, who was esteemed the most celebrated astrologer of that time, and it was even said he dealt with the devil, to come to him there: and his majesty having put several questions to him, on different matters, relating to his

person and kingdom, Thomassin told him, he must take care of himself in May 1610: and even pointed out to him the day and hour in which he would be killed. But the king making a jest of him and his astrology, sometimes pulling him by the hair, and sometimes by the beard, made him take two or three turns round the room, and sent him away in this manner. He deserves to be commended for this; and much more had he not listened to him at all, and banished all such pests from his court and kingdom. Anno 1610. See also in Mezerai's History, in 4to. Paris, anno 1667, Vol. III. p. 1447, the different prognostications of this prince's death, which came to the knowledge of the public at that time, and since.

P. Matthieu observes, that the queen walking in the night, in great fright and agitation, said to the king, who inquired the cause of it; "I was dreaming some body stabbed you with a knife, on the staircase." "Thank God," replied the king, it is only a dream." The same writer, to these predictions, adds several expressions of Henry IV. as so many instances of that secret presage which arises in the mind on the approach of some inevitable catastrophe, or what at least is deemed so, after the event has happened; such are those he made use of to the queen: "My dear, if this is not done on Thursday, after Friday is once past you will see me no more; no, on Friday I shall bid you adieu." Another time, "Go on, go on, queen regent." To the same, retiring to her devotions; "My dear, make confession for yourself and

1609. encreased. In this state of overwhelming horror, which at first I thought an unpardonable weakness, he opened his whole heart to me: his own words will be more affecting than all I can say: "Oh! my friend, said he, this coronation does not please me: I know not what is the meaning of it; but; my heart tells me, some fatal accident will happen." He sat down as he spoke these words, upon a low chair, which I had caused to be made on purpose for him, and which was kept always in my closet, and resigning himself up to all the horror of his melancholy apprehensions, he grasped the case of his reading-glass hard between his fingers, and continued in a profound reverie; then, suddenly starting up, and striking his hands together, he exclaimed; "*Pardieu*, I shall die in this city; they will murder me here; I see plainly that they have made my death their only resource. Oh! this cursed coronation, it will be the cause of my death." "My God, Sire," said I to him one day, "what a thought have you entertained; if you persist in it, it is my opinion, that you ought to break off this coronation, your journey, and your war; if you wish it should be so, it is not difficult to satisfy you." "Yes," said he at length, after I had several times made the same proposal to him, "yes, break off this coronation, and let me never hear more of it; my mind will then be freed from those apprehensions which the advices I have received

"me too." To the courtiers, that, at the queen's coronation, shewing them the dauphin, the painter, instead of enamelling "This is your king." Speaking her coat of arms argent, which of the queen's public entry; the house of Médicis bears, "I have nothing to do with through ignorance painted it it: I shall not see it."—"Let chesnut, the colour of widows; us not laugh so much on Friday, for we shall weep on Sunday," &c. Vol. II. book iv. and, instead of palms, he encircled it with twisted cords, another mark of widowhood. p. 810. & seq. Morizot observes, Hen. Mag. p. 51:

" have given rise to: I shall then leave this city, and have nothing to fear." 1609.

" I would not yield to your solicitations, added he, but that it has been foretold to me I should be murdered at a public ceremony, and in a coach; and hence proceed my fears." " You never mentioned this to me, Sire, replied I; and I have been often surprised to hear you cry out when in a coach, and seem so much alarmed at a danger so inconsiderable; you whom I have often beheld unmoved in all the rage of war, amidst volleys of cannon and musquet shots, and environed by swords and pikes. However, since this notion affects you to such a degree, I would advise you, Sire, to depart to-morrow: let the coronation be performed without you, or defer it till some other time; and let it be long ere you return to Paris, or get into a coach. Shall I send directly to Notre Dame and St. Denis, to put a stop to the preparations, and send back the workmen?" " I would consent to it willingly, said the king; but what will my wife, who has this coronation strangely in her head, say to it?" " Let her say what she will," resumed I, finding my proposal had greatly pleased the king: " however, I cannot believe that she will continue obstinate, when she knows what apprehensions you have of some disaster happening."

I did not wait for any other order, but sent immediately to put a stop to the preparations for the coronation. It is with much regret that I am obliged to confess, that, notwithstanding all my endeavours, the queen would not give her husband this satisfaction. I shall pass over, in silence, the prayers, entreaties, and arguments, with which, for three whole days, I endeavoured to move her*.

* This overthrows Matthieu's assertion, in opposition to all other historians, that the queen was not at all desirous of being crowned. Ibid. 804.

1609. It was Henry's part to yield; and, as in certain moments he was the first to condemn himself for his fears, he left off speaking to me of the coronation; or by me to the queen. The preparations again went forward, and again his apprehensions returned. It was in these words, which he had perpetually in his mouth, that he expressed those apprehensions: "Ah! my friend, I shall never go out of this city: they will murder me here: this "curfed coronation will be the cause of my death." I shall never forget those sad words.

In this affair, there are some private circumstances, which I think it my duty to suppress. I would carry my silence still further, if I did not think it needless, in things which my domestics and other persons had some knowledge of. The following fact is of that number: Schomberg, who lived with me in so great a degree of intimacy that he seemed one of the family, had a billet brought to him by a page, as he sat at table one day, which I observed, as it was slid into his hand very mysteriously. I rallied him upon the billet, alledging that it came from a mistress. He answered, that he would assure me without reading it, that it was not what I imagined, and promised to shew me the contents, of what nature soever they were. As soon as he rose from table, he went to a window to read his letter: it was very short; he put it into my hands, saying that it came from Mademoiselle De Gournai; a name that would remove all suspicions of gallantry: adding, that she entreated him to come to her immediately, having something of the utmost consequence to impart to him. He promised to return directly, and acquaint me with the affair; and accordingly he came back in half an hour.

This lady had been informed by a woman, who had belonged to the marchioness de Verneuil*, that

* The author means Jacqueline betwixt Epernon and Ablis, wife Le-Voyer, of the village of Orsin, of Isaac de Varennes, Esq; Lord of there

there was actually a conspiracy formed against the king's person; and, enquiring who were the persons concerned in it, the woman named the marchioness

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Coman, D'Escoman or Escouman: she is most known by the first name: her history is an incident, in the process against Ravailiac, of too much importance to be passed over in silence: we shall have occasion to recur to it more than once. "She made a declaration in writing," say the Memoirs for the Hist. of France, p. 357. "which contains a very circumstantial account of Ravailiac's conspiracy and designs, and named the duke of Epemon, and the marchioness of Verneuil as the contrivers of them. Neither the king, the queen, or any of those she addressed herself to, in order to make a discovery of what she knew, would listen to her; but treated her as a mad woman. On Tuesday the 25th of January 1611, for this prosecution was not determined before the following year was far advanced, the chambers of the parliament met for the examination of La-Coman, when several persons were ordered to be taken into custody, and others to attend in person. La Villiers-Hotman, the wife of the president St. André, and Charlotte Du-Tillet her sister, appeared. La-Coman spoke well and sensibly, with great resolution and firmness, and without varying in her answers and accusations; she confirmed what she said with such powerful reasons, and strong proofs, that her judges were astonished at them. She had formerly been in the service of queen Margaret, to whom she applied with intent to make a discovery to her of this important conspiracy and design; whereof the queen regent being informed, she called her a wicked woman, who

"accused every body; and said, she did not know but she might at last accuse even her. The reflections she and Du-Tillet cast on one another on being confronted, on account of their irregularities, were diverting enough. Had La-Coman stood there, she had been safe enough; but to go such lengths as she did is too dangerous: for those, who accuse the great, often lose both their estates and life in the attempt, which puts me in fear for her." There is this note in the margin on this Du-Tillet: "Charlotte Du-Tillet, a woman of intrigue, and confidant of the marchioness de Verneuil, was the person who informed madame D'Escoman of Ravailiac's designs."

"On Sunday the 30th of January, the marchioness de Verneuil, on the depositions of La-Coman, was examined by the chief president at his own house, where I had ordered her to be summoned to attend for that purpose, which examination lasted from one o'clock 'till five in the afternoon." Another marginal note on this place says, "She was accused by madame D'Escoman, and was only ordered to attend to be examined, though the matter in question was no less than the assassination of the king, and the highest kind of treason."

"On Saturday the 5th of March, the court sat on the case of La-Coman, and the other prisoners accused by her of being concerned in the assassination of the king, when an arret was made, which was said to be like the sentence of the areopagites, who, when they found a cause too full of difficulties to be determined

1609. de Verneuil, herself, Monsieur N——, and some others; upon which Mademoiselle de Gournai resolved to give the king notice of the plot, by in-

“ by them, put off the giving judgment on it for an hundred years; thus the court, finding no small difficulty in this case, ordered it “ to stand over for judgment till a “ more convenient time; in the “ interim, opening the doors of “ the prison to the accused, and “ keeping La-Coman alone there, “ who in appearance ought to “ have been set at liberty before “ any of the rest; but the times “ would not permit it: and the “ chief president himself, who “ was present when this order was “ made, was of this opinion, out “ of respect for the parties accused, “ who nevertheless were not acquitted by this arret: which was “ no small matter of disquiet both “ to them and the state.” There is this note in the margin: “ This “ arret ordains, that a further information should be taken in this “ matter; and that, in the mean “ time, Stephen Sauvage, valet “ de chambre to Mons. D’Entragues the elder, and James Gaudin, accused and prisoners in “ the Conciergerie, should be set “ at liberty. A definitive sentence “ was given on the 31st of July “ following, whereby the marchioness de Verneuil, madame Du- “ Tillet, Gaudin, and Sauvage, “ are declared innocent, and acquitted of assassinating the king; “ and mademoiselle D’Ecoman is “ condemned, as guilty of false “ accusation, to be imprisoned for “ life, all her goods, chattels, and “ estates, to be seized and confiscated, without restitution. It “ is further ordered, that all other “ prosecutions on this account “ shall cease. This punishment, “ if D’Ecoman’s accusation was “ groundless, is very gentle.” Ib. p. 361. This sentence against her, was under the consideration of the

court ever since Saturday the 23d; and the judges were divided in opinion, nine against nine. P. 377.

The account the Meic. Frang. anno 1611, p. 14. & seq. gives of this affair of D’Ecoman’s, is directly contrary to L’Etoile’s; and, as that account is supported by an unquestionable evidence, one cannot refuse giving credit to it. It is there proved; that this woman, on account of her infamous manner of life, having been shut up in the Hôtel Dieu, and being afterwards imprisoned in the Châtelet, where even sentence of death was pronounced on her, in order to obtain her liberty, and procure herself an interest in queen Margaret, she invented this calumny; that having accused the marchioness of Verneuil of sending Ravailac to her with a letter, desiring her to procure him an interview with mademoiselle Du-Tillet, and charging Du-Tillet with having admitted that assassin into her room when she herself was present. She was convicted of having been guilty of many falsehoods in the relation of these facts; and, amongst others, that she had never seen, and did not even know Ravailac; that she had not indeed so much as heard his name before he was brought to the Conciergerie, which is proved from this woman’s own words; that Gaudin, on being confronted with her, absolutely confounded her; and, in short, that there was not one of all those that were confronted with her, but proved her guilty of falsehood, imposition, and slander.

The author of L’Histoire de la Mere & du Fils, in justification of the arret of the parliament, which appears so blameworthy to L’Etoile, says, “ That august body “ would have condemned her to

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forming the queen of it, through one of the women of her chamber, named Catherine de Selvage. 1609. Mademoiselle de Gournai, after further reflection, thought not this sufficient, and cast her eyes upon M. de Schomberg as a man who might mention the affair directly to his majesty. M. de Schomberg, after he had acquainted me with these circumstances, confessed to me that he was greatly perplexed in what manner to act, and desired I would give him my advice. The thing was too important to be concealed, and too dangerous to be despised: but, on the other hand, by disclosing it to the king, we exposed him to the necessity of making implacable enemies of all those who were involved in the accusation; for we knew this prince would not fail to mention them publicly. My wife alone was present at our consultation.

We agreed, at length, that Schomberg should mention it to the king, but with all possible circumspection; and, if his majesty should desire to know who the accomplices were, he was to refer him to the two women already named, as best able to inform him. No one is unacquainted with the event. The woman, from whom Mademoiselle de Gournai heard all that she had related to M. de Schomberg, being interrogated, firmly maintained her deposition, and persisted in it to her death. This is a circumstance which will never be forgot by those who endeavoured to draw some in-

"be publicly burnt, had the false accusation, of which she was found guilty, been of any other nature; but in cases where the life of kings is in question, the fear of shutting the door against such discoveries as may be made, causes the rigour of the laws to be dispensed with." Vol. I. p. 154. See a paper reprinted in the 11th Vol. of L'Etoile's new Memoirs, p. 256, entitled Interroga-

tions for the Examination of madame de Coman, and her Answer thereto; in which this letter to mademoiselle de Gournai and count de Schomberg is mentioned: "She knew so well how to manage her discourse, and supported her accusations in so resolute a manner, that they did not find sufficient grounds to put her to death." Mem. de la Reg. de M. de Médicis, Vol. I. p. 74.

ferences

1609. ferences from the great care that was taken to suppress all the papers * relating to the trial of the horrid parricide.

* This suppression of the proceedings in the trial of Ravaillac, by the parliament of Paris, is a fact universally known. To the reflections thrown on his judges on this account, it has been further added, that none, or, at least, a very small and light examination, was made by them into the manner of the death of several persons confined, on this account, in the prisons, which to many appeared to be unnatural; that they neglected to summons and interrogate many other persons who were capable of giving great lights into this matter; such as the mother of the murderer, who knew very well that he left Angoulême on Easter-day, before he had performed the devotions of that festival; many of his relations, whom he had named in the course of his examination; the parish priest of St. Severin; father St. Mary Magdalen, of the order of the Bernardines; the capuchins of Angoulême, who had given him a heart made of cost-mary root in a reliquary, with some wood of the true cross, at least they made him believe so; and which, they told him, would cure him of a fever he had then got; that they also had not examined the sieur Guillebaut, a canon of Angoulême; father Gilles Osieres, antient visiter of the order of cordeliers at Paris; Le Fèvre, another young cordelier; several of the cardinal Du-Perron's salmoners whom Ravaillac said he knew very well by sight, but whose names he did not know; certain persons called Béliard, Bréteau, Colletet, Du-Bois, de Limoges, &c. It was also complained of, that Ravaillac had been so carelessly guarded in prison, that, during the thirteen days he continued there, all who had a mind were admitted to see

and talk with him. Another complaint of still greater weight, if the fact be true, is, that at the first pull of the horses at his execution, Ravaillac having desired some one would take his confession as of a dying man, the clerk Voisin, who took it, wrote it so ill, that, though it is still in being, (as it is said) no sworn notary or scrivener has yet been found skilful enough to decypher a single word of it.

All these considerations make an infinite number of people conclude, that the parliament acted in this manner out of fear, that in case the truth had been discovered and made public, they would have been necessitated to proceed with the utmost rigour against too many, and those too powerful persons. It would be labour lost to endeavour to persuade all those people of the contrary. But after all, since, by the suppression of the proceedings in this affair, there do not at present remain sufficient lights whereon, with certainty, to form any judgment of the truth, which, even at that time, could never be cleared up, it must be owned, that one cannot, without rashness, pretend to determine any thing in this matter at the distance of an hundred and thirty years, which have since elapsed; and God forbid I should expose myself to such a reproach. If, in obedience to the laws prescribed to every author of memoirs, I have submitted to join to my text here, and at the end of this book, whatever I could recollect from the most credible historians, relating to this particular fact, as I have constantly done in respect to every historical relation given in this work, my justification, supposing any to be necessary in so plain a case, will be, that I have stated both sides of the question with equal im-

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The ceremony of the queen's coronation was performed, in the mean time, with all the magnificence usual upon such extraordinary occasions. It was to last several days, and to be terminated by the most splendid shew of all on Sunday the 16th of May*. The king had so much complaisance for the queen as to assist at a ceremony, which pierced him to the heart; but, when it was over, he thought he should have nothing more to keep him: and Monday, May 17, was the day appointed for his departure. I should not have staid at Paris so long, but a violent pain which I felt in my neck and throat, occasioned by a wound I had received there many years before, obliged me to have recourse to my physicians, who ordered me to bathe three mornings successively in my chamber. I did not envy the happiness of those who, having protracted their departure out of curiosity to see the ceremony of the queen's coronation, ran eagerly to

partiality: and, on the other side, in answer to those who may complain that, after all that has been said, nothing is clearly decided, I would say, it is no fault of mine that nothing but conjectures can be come at in this matter, and that even those conjectures should frequently destroy one another.

* The ceremony of the coronation was performed at St. Denis on Thursday the 13th of May, le Merc. Franç. Matth. the 9361st Vol. of the MSS. royaux, and other historians give a detail of the magnificence and manner of it. Preparations were made for the queen to make her public entry on the Sunday following, with a pomp surpassing even that of the coronation. Henry IV. said on Tuesday; "I will lie at St. Denis on Wednesday; I will return from thence on Thursday; I will put my affairs in order on Friday; on Saturday I will run at the ring; on Sunday my wife shall make

" her entry; on Monday my daughter Vendôme shall be married; on Tuesday we will keep the marriage feast; and on Wednesday to horse and away." Matth. ib. p. 804. This historian, speaking of the ceremony of the coronation at St. Denis, says; " Henry IV. was surprised at the Spanish ambassador's not taking off his hat in the church. Cicogne told him, that the late king of Spain only just took off his hat at the elevation of the host, and immediately put it on again, as if he had been saluting a gentleman of five hundred livres a year. On which the king said: " If we had those sentiments of religion we ought to have, we should show still greater reverence to those mysteries than we do; for we ought to believe that, after the words of consecration are pronounced, till the communion, Jesus Christ is always present on the altar."

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1609. the shew: the deep concern it gave to Henry rendered it almost as odious to me as to him. The count of Soissons alledged, that there was some ~~failure~~ in the ceremonial with respect to him; and made ~~use~~ of this pretence to quit the court in disgust*.

The ceremony, for some reason or other, being suspended, on Wednesday May the 17th, that most miserable day for France, the unfortunate king had destined part of it to be spent in conference with me, as it was the last interview we were likely to have before his departure. I was not ignorant of what he had to say to me. A malicious report had been spread, that, while in appearance he was preparing to fall upon the house of Austria with such formidable forces, he had privately entered into an agreement with them; not only to proceed no farther, but also to betray all his allies, provided they would consent that he should keep Cleves for himself, and the entire succession, which had been the occasion of the armament. To this his enemies added another condition, which they said he demanded; namely, that Spain should put the prince and princess of Condé into his hands†. Henry

* "This retreat was differently spoke of by different persons: nevertheless it is certain, that his majesty, after having granted him every thing he desired, against his own inclinations, sent him word, that whatever he had promised him he would perform; but he might be assured, at the same time, that he would no longer hold any place in his favour; and that, having compelled him to grant what he did not approve of, he should never see him again with pleasure; which message being delivered to the count, he immediately mounted his horse, and, taking the princess his wife with him, retired to one of his coun-

try seats." Mem. pour servir a l'Hist. de France, année 1610.

† "The nuncio finding himself at last closely urged by his majesty, who was enquiring of him what was thought at Rome and in Italy of the war he was going to undertake, answered, That those who had the best information were of opinion, that the principal subject of that war was the princess of Condé, whom he wanted to have back. When the king involuntarily anger, and swearing, not *ventre saint gris*, as usual, but by —, cried out, Yes, most certainly I do want to have her back, and I will have her back; no one can or shall hinder it, not even God's

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was desirous of convincing me that this report, so 1609.
 injurious to his reputation, was absolutely false. It had been likewise insinuated to him, that the reluctance I discovered to take upon me the charge of furnishing the provisions, was because I had flattered myself that he would, of his own accord, and without my solicitation, erect the post of marshal-general of the camps and armies into a great office of the crown, and invest me with this high dignity: however, I solemnly declare, that I never entertained such a thought. The friendship this great king expressed for me, and the confidence he placed in me, which towards the close of his life was greater than it had ever been, makes it no presumption in me to declare, that I believe, if such had been my desire, he would not have refused me a favour which, great as it was, was still less considerable than others he had offered me; nor will I scruple to assert, that he thought me very capable of such an employment: all that I am doubtful of is, whether he really had any such intentions with regard to me, and whether he was not dissuaded from them by the artful insinuations of my enemies, who affirmed that I had resolved to quit the care of his finances, as soon as I was raised to this eminent dignity.

It was therefore, I presume, to make me some new instances with respect to furnishing the provisions, that Henry sent La-Varenne, on Wednesday morning, to tell me I must meet him in the Tuilleries, where he had a desire to walk with me alone. La-Varenne found me bathing, and perceiving that I was preparing, notwithstanding, to obey his ma-

“lieutenant on earth.” Mem. pour l’Hist. de France, anno 1610. These words ought not to prevent us from considering, as a calumny, the report to which some writers have too lightly given credit, that the chief inducement Henry IV. had to commence so important a war, was to oblige Spain to deliver the prince, or rather the prin-

cess of Condé, up to him; which seems to me not to stand in need of any proof. No less unjust and malicious is this other charge, that this prince had agreed with the court of Spain not to push his design any further, on condition it would give up the states in contest to him.

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1609. jeſty's orders, he prevented me, ſaying, he was very ſure that the king would come himſelf to the Arſenal, when he knew I was indiſpoſed; and that he would be very angry with me, if I expoſed myſelf to any danger by going out, when there was no neceſſity for it. "Only ſtay, added he, till "I have ſpoke to him, and I will return immediately and tell you what he ſays." Accordingly he came back in half an hour. "Monſieur, ſaid he, the king deſires that you will finiſh your bathing, and forbids you to go abroad to-day; for M. Du-Laurens aſſures him, that your health will ſuffer if you do. His majeſty is going into the city, for which he will tell you his reaſon to-morrow * morning at five o'clock, when he will be, without fail, at the Arſenal to ſettle all affairs with you; for he is reſolved to ſet out on Monday at any rate. He ſays, that what you ſaid to him concerning his paſſage, and every other part of his deſign, is juſt; and that nothing ſhall have power to alter his intentions, but *ſome miſfortune either to your perſon or his own* (theſe were his very words.) And he commands you, continued La-Varenne, to receive him to-morrow in your night-gown and night-cap, that you may not ſuffer any inconvenience from your bathing: he declares, if he finds you dreſt, he will be very angry." La-Varenne, after he had thus delivered the king's meſſage, added from himſelf, that his majeſty had taken my advice, and ſent away the letter which had been written to the archduke, although he thought it an uſeleſs piece of formality. "For I am reſolved, ſaid this prince, to make myſelf be believed one way or other." My ſervants have ſince told me, that, when La-Varenne quitted my apartment, they obſerved an

* Henry IV. in reality did not intend to go to the Arſenal till the next morning; but he unfortunately changed that intention in the afternoon.

unusual sadness upon his countenance, the cause of which they could not comprehend; nor indeed could he himself account for it. 1609.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, as I had just entered my wardrobe, I heard Castenet, and afterwards my wife, utter a great cry, and that instant my whole house resounded with this mournful exclamation: "Ah! my God, all is lost! France is undone!" I went out precipitately, undrest as I was. "Ah! Monsieur, cried they on all sides, the king has just been dangerously wounded in his side with a knife." It was not possible for me to doubt a moment whether the dreadful news was true. St. Michel * entered immediately: he had been a witness almost of the blow, and brought the knife with which it was given, still reeking with blood. "Oh!" cried I, raising my hands and eyes to heaven, in a distraction no words can describe, "this is what this poor prince always apprehended: Oh! my God, have pity upon him, upon us, and the state: 'tis done; he is murdered—God would not have permitted so cruel an accident, but to let loose all his wrath upon France, and to deliver her into foreign hands †."

* St. Michel was one of his majesty's gentlemen in ordinary, who had followed him. He had drawn his sword to kill the assassin, when the duke of Epemon called out to him, and to the footmen, who had the same design, to stop at the peril of their lives: to secure his person, but to take care not to do any thing more. "The duke recollected," says the historian of his life, "the displeasure he had conceived at, and the fault that had been found with, those who killed James Clement," &c. p. 238. P. Matthieu adds, "That St. Michel only snatched the knife out of Ravaillac's hands: that count de Cursion struck him on the throat with the pommel of his sword; and that La-Pierre, exempt of the guards, seized him, and put him into the hands of the footmen, who delivered him up to Montigny."

† One would imagine, that upon a fact so public and so recent as the assassination of Henry IV. there would be found

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found a perfect conformity in the histories and memoirs of that time; yet many of the cotemporary writers do not agree either as to the number of the persons who were in the coach with this prince when he was assassinated, the wounds he received, nor many other circumstances no less essential. In order therefore to make this recital in a manner equally faithful and complete, it is necessary to collect and join together what has been said on this subject by messieurs de Péréfixe, Matthieu, L'Etoile, the continuator of De Thou, and the French Mercury for the year 1610.

“ The night before this most unhappy day his majesty could take no rest, and was in continual uneasiness. In the morning he told those about him, that he had not slept, and that he was very much disordered. Thereupon M. de Vendôme entreated his majesty to take care of himself that day, and not to go out; for that day was fatal to him.” “ I see, answered the king, that you have consulted the almanac, and have heard of the prediction of La Brosse, from my cousin the count of Soissons: he is an old fool, and you, who are young, have still less wisdom.” The duke of Vendôme then went to the queen, who likewise begged the king not to go out of the Louvre that day; but he made her the same answer.” P. de L'Etoile.

“ His majesty afterwards went to hear mass at the convent of the barnardine monks, whither the infamous paricide followed him with an intention to murder him; and, as he has since confessed, would have given him the stroke in the chapel, but M. de Vendôme coming unexpectedly between, he was prevented.” Ibid.

“ It was observed, that the king was more fervent than usual in his devotions, and continued longer in prayer that very day than he was accustomed to do: Even in the night preceding it, when his attendants thought he was asleep, he was upon his knees in bed at prayer; and, as soon as he rose, retiring to his closet for the same purpose, they, thinking he staid longer than usual, interrupting him, he was angry. “ Why will these men, said he, always oppose what is for my good?” Ibid.

“ After dinner the king lay down upon his bed, to try if he could sleep; but, not being able to rest, he got up again, pensive, melancholy, and disturbed. He walked a little about his chamber, and again threw himself upon his bed; still restless and unquiet, he rose

“ and

“ and asked the exempt of the guard what hour of the day it was. The exempt told him the clock had struck four; and added, “ Sire, I perceive your majesty is pensive and uneasy: you would be better if you would take the air. The king seemed pleased at this motion, and replied, “ You have advised well: order my coach to be got ready: I will go to the Arsenal to see the duke of Sully, who is indisposed, and bathes to-day.” Ibid.

Matthieu recounting his discourse, both before and after dinner, adds, “ He could not stay one moment in any place, nor conceal his irresolution and disorder: and, in the midst of those agitations, he said to the queen, “ I know not what to do: I have no great inclination to go to the Arsenal, because I shall put myself into a passion.” “ Do not go then, Monsieur, said the queen; send some other thither; you are now in a good humour, why should you go to make yourself uneasy?” “ He went towards the window, and, striking his forehead with his hand, “ My God, said he, there is something here which strangely troubles me: I know not what is the matter; I cannot go from hence.” “ Ravallac, hearing that he enquired if his coach was ready, muttered to himself; *I have thee, thou art lost.*” P. Matthieu.

“ As he was going into his coach, M. de Vitry approached, and asked his majesty if it was his pleasure that he should attend him. “ No, replied the king; but go whither I have ordered you.” “ Permit me, Sire, said Vitry, to send the guards with your majesty”. “ No, returned the king, I will neither have you nor your guards: I will have none about me.” Then entering his coach, and reflecting, as it is supposed, upon the fatal predictions of the day, which they had put into his head, he asked what day of the month it was. “ Sire, said one, it is the 13th.” “ No, said another, it is the 14th.” “ You are right, said the king; you know your almanac better than him;” and laughing, “ Between the 13th and 14th,” said he, and then ordered the coach to go on.” L’Etoile.

“ He said to the coachman, Carry me but from hence. When he came over against the Hôtel de Longueville, he sent back all his attendants; and, being asked where the coach should go, he said, to the Croix-du-Tiroir; and, when there, he ordered it to drive to the churchyard of St. Innocent. Ravallac staid a long time at the

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“ Louvre, sitting upon the stones at the gate, where the
 “ footmen wait for their masters. He designed to have
 “ given the blow between the two gates, the place where
 “ he stood affording him some advantage: but he found
 “ the duke of Epernon on that side where he expected the
 “ king would have been.” Matthieu.

This prince was seated on the back part of the coach, and unfortunately (the weather being very fine) would have all the curtains drawn up, that he might see, as he passed, the preparations which were making all over the city for the queen's public entry. On his right hand sat the duke of Epernon: the marshals de Lavardin and Roquelaure were near the right boot of the coach; the duke of Montbazon and the marquis de La-Force on his left hand; and near the left boot, opposite to him, sat the marquis de Mirebeau, and Du Pleffis-Liancourt, his first master of the horse. Vitry, the captain of his guards, was, by the king's order, gone to the palace to hasten the preparations for the queen's entry, and had left all the guards at the Louvre; so that his majesty was attended only by a small number of gentlemen on horseback, and some of his footmen. Péréfixe, Matthieu, L'Etoile, N. Rigault, *ibid*.

The coach turned from the street St. Honoré into that called Féronnerie, which was then very narrow, and made more so by the little shops erected against the wall of the church-yard of St. Innocent. A little embarrassment was occasioned by the meeting of two carts, one loaden with wine, the other with hay; so that the coach was obliged to stop in a corner of the street, over against the study of a certain notary, whose name was Poutrain. The footmen took a nearer way, that they might with less difficulty come up with the coach at the end of the street; so that there were only two which followed the coach, and one of these went to make way for it to go on, while the other in the mean time took that opportunity to fasten his garter. *Ibid*.

Ravaillac, who had followed the coach from the Louvre, perceiving that it stopped, and that there was no person near it, advanced to that side where he observed the king sat. His cloak being wrapt round, his left arm served to conceal the knife, which he held in his hand; and sliding between the shops and the coach, as if he was attempting to pass by, like others, he supported one foot upon one of the spokes of the wheel, and the other upon a stone, and, drawing a knife edged on both sides, gave the king a wound a little

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little above the heart, between the third and fourth rib. His majesty had just then turned towards the duke of Epemon, and was reading a letter; or, as others say, leaning towards the marshal Lavardin, to whom he was whispering. Henry, feeling himself struck, cried out; "I am wounded;" and in the same instant, the assassin perceiving that the point of his knife had been stopped by a rib, he repeated the blow with such quickness, that not one of those, who were in the coach, had time to oppose, nor even to perceive it. Henry, by raising his arm, gave a fairer aim for the second blow, which, according to *Pérefixe* and *L'Etoile*, went directly to his heart; and, according to *Rigault* and the *French Mercury*, near the auricle of the heart; so that the blood gushing out of his mouth; and from his wound, the unhappy prince expired, breathing a deep sigh; or, as *Matthieu* asserts, pronouncing, with a faint and dying voice, these words: "It is nothing." The murderer aimed a third stroke at him; which the duke of Epemon received in his sleeve. *Ibid.*

It is the opinion of the author of the *French Mercury*, that Henry IV. died at the second blow. "Which, said he, entering between the fifth and sixth rib, pierced the vein within, round the auricle of the heart, and reached to the vena cava, which, being cut, that great prince was in an instant deprived of speech and life. The first stroke only grazed the skin, and made no impression." *French Mercury.*

The writer who has given us the life of the duke of Epemon, thinks, it must be confessed, in a manner very singular. He asserts, but without any proof to support his assertion, that the duke of Epemon, who saw the second blow aimed at the king, raised his arm to parry it, and received it, in part, upon the sleeve of his coat, which was cut. He doubtless meant to exalt his hero by relating this circumstance; but certainly he judged ill to add, that the assassin, after this second blow, had time to strike a third, more dangerous than the second; and that the king received it full. Strange! that the duke of Epemon should so plainly perceive the first of these blows, as to be able to parry it in part, from himself, and the rest who were in the coach; and yet could not prevent the following blow. The historian here has proved too much, and but that, happily for him, it is easy to convict him of his error, his account might well be turned into an accusation of the duke of Epemon. *Life of the duke of Epemon, part 2d, p. 238.*

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“ It is a most amazing thing, that not one of the lords, who were in the coach with the king, should have seen the assassin give the blow ; and, if that infernal monster had thrown away his knife, they would not have known whom to charge with it : but he still held it in his hand, as if to shew it, and gloried in the greatest and most horrid of all assassinations that ever was perpetrated.” Péréfixe says the same ; and this conduct of Ravailiac’s is more conformable to the character we have of him, than what the continuator of De Thou relates : That it was the extreme agitation and disorder of his mind, which prevented his flying, or dropping the poignard. “ He confessed, says Matthieu, that he struck his knife into the king’s body, as into a bottle of hay.” L’Etoile, *ibid*.

“ The six lords, who were in the coach, got out immediately with such precipitation, that they hindered each other from seizing the parricide. One of them perceiving that the king spoke no more, and that the blood came gushing from his mouth, cried out, “ The king is dead.” These words immediately occasioned a great tumult. The people, who were in the streets, threw themselves into the nearest shops, one upon another, with such terror and dismay, as if the city had been taken. The duke of Epernon suddenly bethought himself of saying, that the king was only wounded, and had fallen into a swoon. They desired some wine ; and, while some of the inhabitants ran eagerly to get it, they shut up the coach doors, and told the people, that the king was only wounded ; and that they were carrying him in haste to the Louvre to get his wound dressed.” French Mercury, *ibid*.

“ I ran like one deprived of reason, and, mounting the first horse I found, galloped to the Louvre. When I came to the Hôtel de Longueville, I met M. de Belancourt returning from the Louvre, who said to me, “ He is dead.” I rode on as far as the rails, where the French and Swiss guards were then placed ; their pikes lowered. M. Le-Grand and I got through, and ran to the king’s closet, and saw him extended on his bed. M. De-Vic, counsellor of state, was sitting by him on the same bed, and had laid his cross of the order upon his mouth, putting him in mind of God. Milon, his first physician, was sitting near the bed-side weeping, and the surgeons who attended to dress his wound ; but he was already dead. We fancied we heard him sigh, but it was
“ wind ;

“ wind ; upon which the first physician cried out, “ Ah! 1609.
 “ it is over ; he is gone !” M. Le-Grand, as soon as he
 “ entered, kneeled at the side of the bed. and held one of
 “ his hands, which he kissed. As for me, I threw myself
 “ at his feet, which I held embraced, weeping bitterly.
 “ M. de Guise came in also, and embraced him.” &c.
Memoirs of Bassompierre, Vol. I. p. 297.

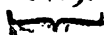
“ The queen was in her closet when this sad news was
 “ brought to her, and, wild with grief, came out imme-
 “ diately to see him whom she honoured most in the
 “ world, deprived of life ; but M. the chancellor, who
 “ was then in council, and had heard the news there,
 “ going up to her apartment, met her as she was coming
 “ out, and stopped her. “ Alas !” said she, as soon as
 she saw him, “ the king is dead.” He, without betraying
 any emotion, replied, “ Your majesty must pardon me,
 “ the kings of France never die.” Then, entreating her
 to return to her closet, “ We must take care, said he to
 “ her, that our tears do not ruin our affairs ; we must re-
 “ serve them for another time : we have need of remedies,
 “ and not of grief,” *French Mercury, ibid.*

“ At five o'clock in the evening it was no where cer-
 “ tainly known, except at the Louvre, that the king was
 “ dead, not even in the quarter de La-Féronnerie, where
 “ he was killed : they thought he had been wounded only.
 “ The report reached the Augustines before audience was
 “ over ; the noise and confused murmurs of the persons
 “ who came into the court opposite to the hall of the
 “ great chamber, increased every moment ; and at length
 “ reached the ears of M. de Blanmesnil, second president
 “ of the great chamber, who was at that time hearing a
 “ cause pleaded in the hall : struck with this noise, he rose
 “ up as if to collect the opinions of the judges upon it :
 “ but, instead of speaking to them on this subject, he
 “ went back to the great chamber : the rest, persuaded
 “ that this noise was occasioned by some fatal accident,
 “ rose from their seats, and broke off the pleadings. Im-
 “ mediately they sent for the king's counsellors of parlia-
 “ ment, and deputed them to the Louvre to know the
 “ state of affairs, and the will of his majesty : in the mean
 “ time, the princes, dukes, and great lords, who were
 “ at Paris, hastened to the Louvre to attend the king as
 “ usual. The sieur de Vitry was ordered to assemble all
 “ the deceased king's children in a chamber, particularly
 “ the young king ; and to suffer no one to approach them.

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“ The dukes of Guise and Epemon were directed to get as many of the nobility as they could find, to mount their horses, and ride through the city; and tell the people, that the king was not dead, but only wounded. Le-Jay, lieutenant-civil, and Sanguin, the lord mayor, had orders to shut all the city gates; to possess themselves of the keys; raise all their officers; and to prevent all emotions and mobs in the city. The guards which were in the suburbs, received orders to come and post themselves upon the pont neuf, in the street Dauphiné, and near the Augustins, in order to surround the parliament, and to force them, if necessary, to declare the queen regent. The king’s counsellors of the parliament, returning from the Louvre to the Arsenal, found M. the first president there, who had been brought in a chair, to whom, and to the chambers assembled, having confirmed the report of the king’s death, they began to consult upon the request brought them by the king’s counsellors. M. de Guise and M. d’Epemon came afterwards into the great chamber, being sent by the queen to see what was doing there,” &c. L’Etoile, Péréfixe, *ibid.*

“ About nine o’clock the same night, a great number of the lords rode through the city, and, as they passed, said to the people, The king is coming; he is well, God be thanked for it. It being night, the people thought the king was in that company, and cried aloud, *Vive le roi.* This cry spreading from one quarter to another, the whole city resounded with, *Vive le roi.* It was only in the quarter of the Louvre, and that of the Augustins, where the truth was known.” *Ibid.*

“ At night they dressed the king’s body, and washed him with the same ceremony as if he had been alive. M. Du Maine gave him his shirt, M. Le-Grand served him, and I likewise was ordered to serve him, and to represent M. de Bouillon.” M. Bassompierre, *ibid.*

“ Saturday, May the 15th, the king’s body was opened in the presence of six and twenty physicians and surgeons; all the parts of which were found to be in so good a state, that, according to the course of nature, they judged he might have lived thirty years longer. His heart was small, but thick, and of close texture, and surprisingly sound: his stomach, as the physicians and surgeons said, was the strongest that had ever been seen: his lungs were grown a little to his left side.” Bassompierre, *ibid.*

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“ His entrails were sent immediately to St. Denis, without any pomp. The jesuits demanded the heart, which they interred in their chapel of La-Fleche; the body, embalmed and laid in a leaden coffin, inclosed in another of wood, and covered with cloth of gold, was placed under a canopy in the king’s chamber, with two altars on each side, at which mass was said during eighteen days successively, after which it was carried to St. Denis,” &c. *Péréfixe, ibid.*

See in the same historians several other interesting particulars, as well with respect to what passed in the parliament, and in different parts of Paris, as upon the funeral ceremony observed on this occasion. Upon this last article, consult also the royal MSS. Vol. 9361.

The memoirs of that time afford a great number of observations, and curious particulars, relating to the assassination of Henry IV. which we cannot dispense with ourselves from annexing to the text of our Memoirs. The number and diversity of them is all that perplexes us; for with respect to the persons who are concerned in them; namely, the jesuits, the duke of Epernon, and several of the principal lords of the kingdom, the marchioness of Verneuil, and the party supposed to be headed by her, the officers of the queen’s household, and many others; these circumstances are so far from doing any injury to their memories, that it will be readily granted their interest requires that they should neither be suppressed or disguised; for, since all the malignity of their enemies have never been able to prove one single fact against them, it necessarily follows, that what has been said was mere calumny, invented by wicked and designing persons.

One general remark, and which is equally applicable to all, is sufficient to prove what I have asserted, that those accusations were founded on calumny only; and this is, that Ravaillac never accused, or gave the least room for suspecting that any of those persons were concerned in the king’s assassination. He constantly maintained, that no one was privy to his design, which he had conceived upon being told, that the king was going to make war upon the Pope. He never varied from this declaration, and, when he was put to the torture, he said the same as he had done at his trial. The most dreadful pains could not force him to alter his deposition: he protested, and repeated this protestation upon the scaffold: That he never had either an accomplice or confidant. “ When he was ready to expire,

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“ he turned to his confessor, and desired he would give him absolution ; for he had no more to say. This the priest refused, telling him, That it was forbid to those who, like him, had been guilty of high treason, unless he disclosed his accomplices.” “ Give it me, said Ravallac, upon condition that the declaration I have made, that I had no accomplices, be true.” “ I will give it you upon that condition, replied the confessor ; but assure yourself, if you tell a lie in these moments, your soul, at its separation from your body, will be carried directly to hell.” “ I accept and receive it upon that condition,” said Ravallac. And these were the last words he spoke to Messieurs de Fillefac and Gamache, two men of great candour and honesty, and the most able doctors of the Sorbonne.” Words which deserve great notice, since they are recorded by him, who, of all the writers on this subject, has shewn most prejudice and malice. Memoirs for a History of France, page 323.

After this decisive remark I shall begin with what relates to the jesuits, who have been less spared than any of the others, and whom our author in the following book attacks the first, tho’ he does not name them. But here I think myself obliged to relate what appears a very singular confession in a great critic, who professes that he does not fear the society, and will spare no one whatever. “ I had the curiosity, says he, to read the answer made by the jesuits to the accusations of their enemies, their reply to that, and the jesuits farther vindication of themselves ; and it appeared to me, that in many cases their accusers were at a loss, which persuades me that many things have been charged upon them for which there were no proofs, but easily believed at the instigation of prejudiced persons.” In effect, there is nothing more solid, or better founded, in the declamations of Morizot, and a great number of anonymous writers. Bayle’s Select Letters, Vol. I. Letter 230.

I shall now proceed to the examination of some words, attributed to a jesuit in a conference with Ravallac : *My friend, do not accuse good men.* “ Father Cotton went likewise to Ravallac, and bid him take care of accusing the innocent ; words which did not pass unnoticed. He afterwards would have persuaded him, if he could, that he was a protestant, saying, that he could never believe that a Roman catholic was capable of committing
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“ting so horrid an action : but Ravaillac derided father
 “Cotton, tho’ a jesuit, as well as the rest, whom he sent
 “away with jests and pleasantry. “You would be
 “astonished, said he to some of them who were question-
 “ing him, if I should tell you that it was you yourself
 “who set me on.” He did not say this to father Cotton ;
 “for, wicked as he was, he had some scruples of con-
 “science remaining that would not suffer him to slander
 “the brothers of the society.” *Journal of the Reign of*
Henry IV. anno 1610.

Peter Matthieu, in his particular history of the death
 of Henry IV. p. 116. says, “That the queen, believing,
 “if the inhuman parricide could be led to repent of his
 “crime, he would more freely own who they were that
 “urged him to commit it, thought it necessary that he
 “should be visited by the doctors and clergy, who might
 “put his mind into such a frame, that he would have
 “greater fears of eternal than temporal torments.” Fa-
 ther Cotton therefore might be of the number of these
 ecclesiastics ; but the author does not mention him in par-
 ticular, and is wholly silent with respect to the words
 which have been attributed to him. He does not tell us
 that this father, when he accosted Ravaillac, called him
my friend. The prior of Orleans says not a word of this
 fact in his life of father Cotton, where it was natural for
 him to mention it, and where he has been as particular,
 with respect to this father, as Matthieu has been in every
 thing relating to the death of Henry the Great.

“Two circumstances, says Mézerai, were observed,
 “of which the reader may judge as he pleases ; one was,
 “that, when Ravaillac was seized, seven or eight men
 “came up to him with swords in their hands, and said
 “loudly that he ought to be slain directly ; but they im-
 “mediately concealed themselves in the crowd : the other,
 “that the parricide was not carried to prison at first, but
 “was put into the hands of Montigny, and remained
 “two days in the Hôtel de Rais, where he was so care-
 “lessly guarded, that all sorts of people were allowed to
 “speak to him : among others, an ecclesiastic who had
 “received great obligations from the deceased king, ac-
 “costing him, called him *friend*, and bid him take care
 “not to accuse good men.” Mézerai, it is plain, has
 copied the first of these observations from P. Matthieu,
 who says that it was the baron de Courtaumar, who,
 drawing his sword against these men, forced them to shel-
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1609. { ter themselves in the crowd : but I do not see what inference is to be drawn from the former of these two facts related by Mézerai, except that those men, transported with rage and grief for the death of the best of kings, were eager to punish the impious assassin ; and as for the other fact, after what has been just said in the foregoing remark, it must be allowed to be very doubtful and hazardous, upon a supposition, that by the ecclesiastic, who had great obligations to the king, the author means father Cotton : but indeed, if this father did go to see Ravaillac, and if he really said those words, *My friend, do not accuse good men*, what ought to be inferred from an expression of gentleness and christian charity, which neither directly nor indirectly presents any thing criminal to the mind ? Abr. Hist. and Chron. Vol. III. p. 1450.

Here follows, what is still, in different writings, to be found against the jesuits on this occasion : “ Father D’Aubigny, who had confessed Ravaillac, was privately interrogated by the first president upon the secret confession, but he could draw nothing from him except this : “ That God, who to some men had given the gift of “ languages, to others the gift of prophecy, revelation, “ &c. had on him bestowed the gift of forgetfulness of “ confessions. Moreover, added he, we, who are ecclesiastics, know nothing of the world ; we do not mix “ in its affairs, or heed what passes in it.” “ Rather, replied the first president, you know too much, and are “ too far concerned in its business ; and, if you were not “ more so than you own you are, things had gone better.” Memoirs for a History of France, ib. p. 320, 321.

These last circumstances relating to father D’Aubigny, are certainly the most severe of all that have been urged against the jesuits. It was well known, that Ravaillac, in his depositions, acknowledged that he was acquainted with this jesuit ; that he had been present when he said mass ; that he had imparted to him his visions ; the trouble of his mind, &c. He was confronted with this father, who maintained to Ravaillac himself, that he had never seen him, and that all he had said concerning him was false. The French Mercury, far more deserving to be credited than any of the writers I have quoted, because the author speaks so fully and with so much clearness of this affair, that one sees, in a manner, the whole proceedings of the trial ; he, after giving a minute account of

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of every circumstance of their examination, adds, "Father D'Aubigny said to Ravaillac, that he was very wicked; and that, after perpetrating so horrid a fact, he ought not to accuse any one falsely, nor add to the number of his sins." Ravaillac being told, that, if he had any charge to bring against father D'Aubigny, he must do it then, replied, that he had not any; that he looked upon him to be an honest man, and a good priest; and that he would believe him. In like manner the said D'Aubigny having notice given him to make his objections against the witness, and that according to the ordinance, he would not be admitted to make them, if not immediately, he said he had no more to say, but that he was a wicked man, and a most audacious liar." French Mercury, anno 1610.

Ravaillac's silence to these reproaches may well pass for a conviction of the calumny. This circumstance of the trial may be seen at large in the book itself. Matthieu says it was Servin, the king's advocate, who interrogated father D'Aubigny, and that this was the answer: "That ever since he had, by the orders of his superiors, quitted preaching to apply himself wholly to hearing confessions, God had bestowed the singular grace upon him of effacing immediately from his memory whatever was said to him under the seal of confession." But this writer, though an enemy of the jesuits, does not mention the first president's malicious reply to him; and doubtless he is more deserving of belief, than the Memoirs for the History of France; because he was living at that time, and was most particularly interested in the memory of Henry IV. who had honoured him with his favour. Pasquier, the great enemy of the jesuits, by not accusing them of any thing, shews plainly enough, that he believed them innocent. History of Henry IV. ib. Letters of Nicholas Pasquier.

"On Sunday, May 23, Father Portugais, a cordelier, and some curates of Paris; among others, the curates of the parishes of St. Bartholomew and St. Paul, in dark ambiguous words, and hints scarcely intelligible, taxed the jesuits with being accomplices in the king's assassination, arguing against them from their own books and writings: namely, those of Mariana and Becanus. It was also proposed, says the same author whom I now quote, to forbid the jesuits the public pulpits. However they went no farther than to or-

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“ der Mariana’s book to be burnt by the hands of the
 “ common hangman, which was done accordingly, June
 “ 8, before the church of Notre Dame. This book
 “ openly defended the deed of brother Clément, and has
 “ been twice printed; the first time in folio, the second
 “ in octavo. In the first edition, he calls this brother,
 “ *æternum galliæ decus*; but these three words are left
 “ out in the second edition, which I have before me.”
 Memoirs for the History of France, ib. p. 325.

If all the authors who have written upon the same principles with those of Mariana and Becanus, were to be accused of having contributed to the king’s murder, “ A
 “ criminal process might be entered against John Petit,
 “ a doctor of the Sorbonne, whose opinions were re-
 “ jected by the council of Constance; likewise against
 “ the celebrated John Gerson, James Almain, Richer,
 “ John Boucher of the same college and society. Can
 “ they be ignorant that an extraordinary assembly was
 “ held among the doctors of the Sorbonne, to proceed
 “ to the apotheosis of James Clement, the assassinator of
 “ Henry III. and that among that great number of doc-
 “ tors, which composed the assembly, only one, named
 “ John Poitevin, was against it? In those miserable times,
 “ a furious hatred and misguided zeal extinguished the na-
 “ tural lights of reason; and however revolting that
 “ doctrine might be, which teaches that it is sometimes
 “ lawful to murder kings, however opposite to scripture
 “ and reason, yet, to the shame of humanity, and the
 “ disgrace of religion, that doctrine prevailed. Mariana,
 “ a Spanish jesuit, in a book entitled *De Rege & Regis*
 “ *Institutione*, held in effect that it was sometimes al-
 “ lowable to murder tyrants, tho’ elsewhere he teaches,
 “ that a lawful prince cannot be killed or deprived of his
 “ authority by an individual. The enemies of the jesuits
 “ advance, that it was from this book Ravaillac had tak-
 “ en his first lesson, which he practised but too well. It
 “ is certain, however, that he never read the book, knew
 “ nothing of it, and did not understand Latin well
 “ enough to read it: but these reasonings are the effects
 “ of passion and prejudice. Father Aquaviva, to hinder
 “ the rashness of some writers from raising such calum-
 “ nies against the jesuits for the future, on the 8th of
 “ July forbade all the subjects of the society, upon pain of
 “ being excommunicated and suspended from exercising
 “ any of the sacred functions, to speak or write any thing
 “ which

“ which could authorize, in any manner, or under any
 “ pretence, the parricide of kings, whom, by the law of
 “ God, says he, we are commanded to honour and re-
 “ spect, as sacred persons placed by his hands upon the
 “ throne.” Chronol. and Dogn. Vol. I. p. 115, and
 following. 1609.

What is here said of Mariana, may with equal justice be applied to Becan; but, among all these accusations, I see only one in which there is any probability; which is that drawn from the book of this Spanish jesuit, condemned by the parliament as being capable of arming subjects against their sovereign; but in reality what ought to be inferred from thence to the prejudice of the French jesuits? what proofs could a book furnish against them, which was written by a foreigner, and in the year 1606 publicly condemned as a most pernicious piece, and even rejected by the jesuits themselves?

“ The queen, who was desirous that father Cotton
 “ and the abbe Du-Bois, the declared enemy of that fa-
 “ ther and the whole society, should be reconciled, per-
 “ mitted him to have a conference with that abbe, which
 “ lasted four hours, at the house of the lieutenant-civil;
 “ but, not being able to agree, father Cotton, to take
 “ him at some disadvantage, at length asked him if he
 “ thought the jesuits had been the cause of the late king’s
 “ assassination, and if he believed that he had killed him.
 “ No,” replied the abbe Du-Bois; “ for, if I thought
 “ so, I would this instant, said he, swearing a great oath,
 “ hoist you by the throat and strangle you, and then
 “ throw you out of the window.” Father Cotton af-
 “ terwards asked him if the jesuits were not catholics.
 “ Oh yes, answered he, such catholics as the devil is.”
 Journal of the reign of Henry IV. by P. L’Etoile, p. 233.

“ On Tuesday, May 25, there was a quarrel betwixt
 “ M. de Loménie and father Cotton, in full council.
 “ Loménie told him, that it was he and his secretary
 “ who had murdered the king, whereupon, the members
 “ of the council representing to him that he ought to be
 “ more moderate in his expressions, he said, that his
 “ grief for the death of his good master might force him
 “ into some intemperance of language, but that he would
 “ not speak but in the queen’s presence. At the same
 “ time Beringhen quarrelled with De-Lorme, first physi-
 “ cian to the queen, who supported the jesuits, and said
 “ things

1609. "things as severe to him as Loménie had done to father
"Cotton."

Is it surprising that persons under the influence of passion, and in those moments when they suffer themselves to be carried away by their conjectures, prejudices, and particular enmities, should utter invectives, and make reproaches which they cannot prove? At such times they often say things which they do not believe, and which, when their reason is less clouded, they inwardly disavow.

John Du-Bois, abbe of Beaulieu, being a short time after obliged to quit the kingdom, was arrested at Rome, and put into the prisons of the inquisition, either at the suit of the jesuits or of the procurator-general of celestin monks; for he had formerly been of that order, and quitted it without giving an account of the money which had been deposited in his hands. He had afterwards borne arms, and distinguished himself in the service of Henry III. who used to call him the emperor of the monks: after that, he resumed the ecclesiastic habit, and was celebrated for his preaching. Whatever was the cause, he was detained in those prisons till the year 1626, which was the same year in which he died, being a few days after he was restored to his liberty by pope Gregory XV. *Memoirs for a History of France, French Mercury, and Moreri.*

In L'Etoile, La-Varenne makes a very singular speech to the jesuits at his return from La-Flèche, whither he had accompanied them in the ceremony of bearing the king's heart to their chapel. Having entertained them all to the number of twenty-four at dinner, he continued his discourse to them (the former part of which had been pretty severe) in this manner: "I will not scruple to tell you, said he, that there is a very bad report concerning you circulated in this city, which has come to my ears; that there are among you some who were abettors of, and accomplices in, the wicked assassination of the deceased king. Hitherto I have not believed it; but, if I should ever happen to discover any thing against you, I declare that I will have you all seized one after the other, and hang you in my stables." Such was La-Varenne's harrangue to the jesuits; but it was time, say they, to shut the stable-door when the steed was stolen. *Ibid.* 176.

As this speech of La-Varenne's is not mentioned in any of the best authors of his time, there is good reason

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to think it one of those idle and ridiculous tales fit to amuse the populace, and gratify the malice and prejudice of an enemy who finds reason and probability in every thing that is conformable to his passion. 1609.

The same author, speaking of the provost-marshal of Pluviers, says, that he had two sons who were both jesuits, and endeavours to prove that they were accessary to the king's assassination; but it is evident that nothing could be more unjust than the reasonings of this writer, or more false than his conclusions, with respect to the provost of Pluviers: for why indeed should it be asserted, that the jesuits were in a combination with that provost, because he had two sons in the society? It would not follow from thence that they had contributed to Ravailac's crime, unless it could be proved, which it is impossible to do, that the provost hanged himself through his fear of falling into the hands of justice, for having, in concert with the jesuits, endeavoured to inspire Ravailac with a resolution to complete his horrid design: but this base calumny is refuted by the French Mercury, who, after observing that all which had been said against the jesuits had been taken from L'Anticotton, the Thanks of the Butter-woman, and such like writings, "They ought surely, said he, to agree in their satires, since they all proceed from the same mouth. Of these two books, the first was not printed till the middle of September, and the other towards the end of October; and it was always thought that this provost hanged himself because instruments for coining had been found upon him, having practised the art of coining, and been guilty of other crimes in his office, for which he knew he could not avoid death; and not for the above mentioned accusation, which was raised against him at the instigation of his enemies." French Mercury, anno 1610.

That very observation, that nothing was alledged against the jesuits, at that time, which was not taken from the most contemptible libels, is alone a sufficient answer to all other calumnies of that nature; and after some words which escaped one of the most furious enemies this society ever had, it ought no longer to be doubted. This anti-jesuit, said he, appeared about that time, and, except low abuse, it will be found to contain nothing. The author was a young man named Bonestrat. The factor of Guillemot was imprisoned for it. The catholicon of Saurmur appeared likewise; a work made up of bad and good.

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1609. La-Barillierie, who is a free-speaker, meeting two jesuits some days after the king's assassination, "Gentlemen," said he, I think you are jesuits: there is a merchant at Châtelleraut who has very good knives to sell; perhaps you may find some that will suit you there." This is not a proof, but a witticism, which pleases not on account of the truth there is in it, but for its malicious and satirical turn. *Memoirs for a History of France*, ib. 353.

"Divray, a clerk of the court, told one of my friends the next day, that as they were conducting mademoiselle Coman, the same who has been formerly mentioned, before the council, she said to him; "I revealed to the jesuits, in confession, all I knew of this conspiracy, and they entreated me not to mention it." Certainly the jesuits were greatly concerned in what this girl alledged: how comes it then that the writers of those times, who have been so particular in their relations, have taken no notice of this circumstance? *Ibid.* p. 358.

Nor is it less easy to refute the following citations against the several persons we have named; indeed they carry their refutation along with them, by comprehending, in the same accusation, persons who were not only without connection of friendship or interest, but were declared enemies, and publicly known to be such: I mean the queen and the marchioness of Verneuil, and their partizans. For the same reason, therefore, we think ourselves dispensed with from joining to each quotation reflections which would greatly swell these notes, and which must necessarily occur to every judicious reader.

"The Sunday before the Wednesday on which the king was murdered, being the 9th of May, this soldier, a wicked lewd fellow, and who, says the author a few lines above, had formerly been a priest, met the widow of captain St. Matthieu, a huguenot, a little beyond the gate St. Antony, on the road from Charenton, and knowing her, he accosted her, and, after some discourse, asked her if she still lived at Paris. She told him she did. And what are you doing there so long?" said the soldier. "Doing, she replied, I have a great deal of business to transact." "Faith, returned he, if I was in your place, no law suit or business whatever should keep me there; and it is because I wish you well that I advise you to get out of Paris?" "But why do you wish me out of Paris?" said she. "Because; resumed the soldier, before eight days are past,

"past, it is in danger of suffering so great a disaster, 1610.
 "that happy will it be for them who are at a distance from
 "it. I therefore advise you, as a friend, to quit Paris
 "as soon as possible, and believe what I say to you."
 "When they came to the entry of the church, where the
 "sermon was not yet begun, the soldier said he would
 "not hear the sermon. "But," said he, laughing, "I
 "will go and examine the disposition of your guards,
 "who are a multitude of poor miserable wretches,
 "ranged on each side like two hedges." Then looking
 "at them, "Behold those lame stragglers, said he to
 "the woman, which we are accustomed to see in Paris
 "at the entrance of our churches; do you not observe
 "those soldiers who are amongst them? I know them
 "every one; they are all robbers; four of them in par-
 "ticular, whom I see there, are destined for four terrible
 "exploits: but the wickedest, and most determined of
 "them all, I do not see." Saying this, he took leave of
 "the woman, and went away. Upon the Wednesday
 "following, when the king was assassinated, she begun
 "to reflect upon what the soldier had said to her, and the
 "Sunday after, being in doubt whether she ought to go to
 "Charenton, hearing that others had set the example,
 "she resolved to follow it, and upon the road again met
 "the soldier, to whom, in great surprise, she said, "I
 "think you are a prophet; I shall believe you another
 "time: but I hope we shall suffer no more." "This
 "is nothing yet, said the soldier; all is not over; there
 "are other strokes to follow this; equally wicked, and
 "much more dangerous; and, since you are resolved to
 "believe me for the future, take my counsel, and leave
 "your abode as soon as possible."

"Upon giving immediate information of this discourse
 "to the ministers of the church, among others to M.
 "Durand, he procured her, by means of one of his
 "friends, access to M. Desunetis, who having heard
 "what she had to say, and got intelligence from her
 "where this soldier dwelt, and at what hour he might be
 "spoke with, he went to his lodgings at ten o'clock at
 "night, and seizing him without any difficulty, lodged
 "him in a place of security. The great probability
 "there was in this story made many persons hope that at
 "length there would be a full discovery of this deplored
 "and most abominable enterprize, if the vile methods of
 "proceeding used in the affair, had not destroyed all the

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“ good effects that might have been expected from the discoveries already made ; but such was the conduct observed in it, that one would imagine we were afraid of shewing ourselves too severe and exact, in searching into a crime the most barbarous and most wicked that has ever been perpetrated in Europe for upwards of a thousand years.” L’Etoile’s Journal, page 150, and following.

“ Tuesday, May 18, the court being assembled, deliberated upon the forms and proceedings to be used in the trial and condemnation of that most detestible parricide and assassin of his king, Francis Ravallac ; but it was more especially considered in this assembly what tortures should be used to extort a confession from this miserable wretch. It was resolved that he should be put to extraordinary tortures, and those of the most cruel kind, even foreign ones were proposed, and, among others, that of Geneva, which was called the *barathe*, or *beurriere*, a torture so violent, that it is said none on whom it was tried, but was forced by it to confess. Upon this the opinions of the assembly were divided ; the oldest and the best approved of its being tried, the others wavering between both, and apt to change their opinions every moment, resolved upon nothing ; therefore most of those who are only determined by gain, having given their votes, in *mitiorem* (*scu deteriorem*) carried the vote that day by a great majority.” Ibid. p. 154.

“ According to the said arrêt, he was put to the torture in order to oblige him to reveal his accomplices : what passed is still a secret to all but the court.” French Mercury, anno 1610, fol. 454.

“ A certain infamous fellow, having publicly railed at the deceased king, and praised Ravallac, saying that he had performed a noble act, was seized and brought prisoner to Paris. The informations against him, as those against Maçon, were laid before the chancellor, but have still remained a secret ; nor has there been any mention made of bringing them to justice.” Memoirs for the History of France, Vol. II. p. 324.

“ When the assassin was brought to the place of punishment, and upon the point of being torn in pieces by the horses, observing that a certain man, who was near the scaffold, had alighted from his horse to put it in the place of one which had been tired with dragging
“ him

“ him : “ They deceived me, said he, when they told
 “ me, that the action I was going to commit would be
 “ pleasing to the people, since they themselves furnish
 “ horses to tear me in pieces.” A proof, adds the author
 “ in the margin, that he had been incited by some per-
 “ sons to commit that execrable fact, and that he had ac-
 “ complices.” lb. p. 312. 1610.

Here follows what relates to the provost of Pluviers :
 “ The provost of Pluviers, or Fétiviers, a city in Beauce,
 “ distant about two days journey from Paris, was accused
 “ of having said, the same day that the king was mur-
 “ dered; *this day the king is either slain or wounded.* Be-
 “ ing brought prisoner to Paris, he was found dead in
 “ the prison, strangled with the strings of his drawers.
 “ He was hanged by the feet in the Grève, on the 19th
 “ of June.” French Mercury, anno 1610.

L'Étoile, after relating the same fact, adds the follow-
 ing circumstances : “ This infamous man, whose wicked-
 “ ness was publicly known, and who had two sons of the
 “ order of the jesuits, *quod notandum*, acknowledged by
 “ every one to be a very bad subject to the king, but a
 “ good servant to the family of Entragues and the mar-
 “ chioness of Verneuil, and known to be a rogue and
 “ extortioner, was accused of having said, in Pluviers,
 “ while he was playing, or looking upon others who were
 “ playing, at bowls, in a garden, at the very time the
 “ king was murdered, *The king is just now murdered; he*
 “ *is dead, depend upon it;* and, some days before, he had
 “ used words to the same purpose, or very near it, which
 “ was not taken notice of till the thing happened, which
 “ made them believe that the old villain knew something
 “ of the enterprize, and was one of the accomplices of
 “ that vile assassin : so that, being carefully watched, and
 “ eagerly pursued, he was at length taken and brought to
 “ Paris, where he was confined in the Conciergerie du
 “ Palais, where, a short time afterwards, to their great
 “ astonishment, they found him dead, being strangled
 “ with the strings of his drawers. The parliament had
 “ him tried, tho' dead, and found him guilty of the crime
 “ of high treason; but, after all, *dead men do not speak,*
 “ which was what they wanted; for, if he had spoke,
 “ he might have said too much for the honour and ad-
 “ vantage of many persons whom they had no inclination
 “ to hurt. This was what was believed by all the people
 “ about Pluviers, who used to exclaim, *Good God, how*
 “ *far-*”

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*fortunate is the death of this wicked man for M. D'En-
tragues, the marchioness of Verneuil his daughter, and
the whole family.* Upon this miserable wretch was found
a tool and an instrument made use of in coining, called
a mold. It was said, that he had been guilty of that
practice; but this instrument was found to be a tool
for breaking iron gates, and bars of iron, even of the
largest size, like those in the Bastille, in order to get
the count of Auvergne from thence." Journal of the
Reign of Henry IV. page 183.

"The queen sent for Durat the physician, a man
whom the king detested, and would never suffer in his
presence, and even forbid the queen to employ. She,
however, retained him for her physician, made him
one of her council, with large appointments, and all
to oblige Conchini, who, it was said, bore with great
fortitude the death of the king." In the margin it is
written, The public were persuaded, that his wife and
he had greatly contributed to the king's assassination."
Memoirs for the History of France, Vol. II. p. 309.

"On Sunday, January the 30th, the marchioness of
Verneuil was, upon the depositions of mademoiselle
Coman, interrogated by M. the first president at his
house. Her examination lasted from one o'clock in
the afternoon till five. She is thus called, Henrietta de
Balzac D'Entragues, marchioness of Verneuil, mis-
tress to king Henry IV. She was accused by La-Co-
man; yet was decreed to be heard but once, although
the affair was the king's assassination, and the crime
high treason." Ib. p. 358.

"The next day the queen sent a gentleman to the first
president, to desire he would send her his opinion con-
cerning this process, to whom the good man replied,
You may tell the queen, that God has reserved me to
live in an age to see and hear things so strange, as I
never thought I could have heard or seen." One of
his friends and mine saying to him, that it was almost
the general opinion that this young woman, by her ac-
cusing so many persons, and of the highest rank in the
kingdom, spoke at random, and without any proofs;
the first president, raising his eyes to heaven, and shrug-
ging up his shoulders, replied, There are but too many,
there are but too many." Ibid.

"Monsieur D'Epernon at the same time, who was
most interested in this affair, and who eagerly pushed
" on

“ on the process against this girl, that she might be put to death, went generally for that purpose to the council, and made a visit to the first president to hear what had passed; but that gentleman, with his accustomed gravity, and asperity of countenance, which those especially whom he did not like, were sure to meet with from him, repulsed him disdainfully, saying, “ I am not your news-monger, but your judge.” The duke telling him, that he asked him as a friend, “ I have no friends, replied the president; I will do you justice: be satisfied with that.” M. D’Epernon, returning in great discontent, went and complained to the queen, who immediately dispatched a messenger to the first president, to tell him that, she had been informed, he had treated the duke of Epernon ill, and that it was her desire he should, for the future, behave with more respect to him, in consideration of his high quality. To this, the first president replied: “ I have been a judge fifty years, thirty of which I have had the honour to preside in the sovereign court of the peers of this kingdom, and, during that time, I never saw any lord, duke, or peer, of what quality soever, who was accused of high treason, who came before his judges booted and spurred, as M. D’Epernon has done, and with his sword by his side. Do not fail to tell the queen this.” This was a freedom becoming a first president. I should not record this speech of his here, if I did not certainly know it to be true.”

“ If it be asked, says M. de Péréfixe, who were the furies, the fiends, that suggested to him so damnable a design, and urged him to carry it into execution, history replies, that it is ignorant, and that, upon an action of such consequence, it is not allowable to give suspicions and conjectures for certain truths: the judges themselves, who interrogated the criminal, durst not open their mouths, and never mentioned it, but with gestures of horror and astonishment.” Péréfixe’s History of Henry the Great, Part III. p. 410.

The continuator of De Thou’s Latin History says, that two different opinions prevailed upon this subject; some were persuaded that the assassination of Henry IV. was the work of some great lords of the kingdom, who sacrificed this prince to their antient resentment; others believed that it was Spain who struck this blow by the partizans she had in France; and this writer adds, that the

1610. the president De Thou, and the ablest heads in the parliament, was of this latter opinion. He likewise mentions letters from Brussels, Antwerp, Malines, and Bolduc, before the 15th of May, which expressed that it was commonly reported in those provinces, that Henry IV. had been murdered. Nic. Rigalt, anné 1610. Vol. VI. p. 492.

That passage from L'Etoile, which I quoted a little before, may, if granted to be of any authority, give room for a third opinion: namely, that this plot, or rather all these different plots, were to end in a rebellion, and even a kind of second massacre in Paris; and that this was not executed, because the conspirators seeing the king dead, which was the great and principal object they had in view, thought it needless to proceed any farther.

And here I cannot dispense with myself from mentioning some writings, which may be found in the fourth volume of L'Etoile's Journal, lately printed under the title of *Pièces Justificatives*. Some of them relate to the affair and process of mademoiselle Coman. They add nothing, or very little, to what has been already said. The others are,

First, a manuscript which the author pretends had been found in the cabinet of the duke D'Aumale (Charles de Lorraine, second son of Claude) who died in the Low Countries in the year 1631. In this manuscript, which heavily charges the jesuits and the count of Auvergne, although in prison at the time, it is related, that the duke of Epemon, who was in the coach with his majesty, seeing him wounded to death (these are his words) "stabbed him in the side with a knife, that he might be sooner out of pain. The duke of Montbazon adds, he saw the duke of Epemon stab the king, but did not take any notice of it, because he favoured this assassination."

The second of these pieces is entitled, *The Meeting between the duke of Epemon and Francis Ravallac*. It is there asserted, that this duke, being at Angoulême, sent for Ravallac and two other accomplices of his, and he and father Cotton exhorted them to poignard the king, giving for a reason, that this prince was an enemy to the Pope, the king of Spain, and the catholic religion, which he was going to abolish in Europe; and that, after they had made them swear to perform this, receiving the communion upon it from father Cotton, they gave them each

two hundred crowns. The assassins then took the road to Paris, where having staid a long time, without meeting with an opportunity of executing their enterprize, they obliged D'Epernon to give each of them a hundred crowns more; that, when the moment for perpetrating the parricide approached, the duke of Epernon, as he had agreed upon beforehand with Ravallac, amused the king with some discourse, and then the horrid villain, throwing himself upon the king, gave him a wound with a knife; but the said duke perceiving that it was very slight, and that the king cried out, I am wounded, he made a sign to him to repeat the stroke, whereupon this execrable wretch, with a second blow, struck the king into the heart; so that he expired immediately. All these imputations, to be found only in contemptible libels, deserve less, that we should shew their falshood and inconsistency than the former. See Pasquier's letter to M. de Monac, in which he justifies the duke of Epernon.

The other pieces relate to the story of Peter Du-Jardin, known by the name of captain de La-Garde, of whom we have already had occasion to speak. From these we learn, that Du-Jardin was a native of Rouen: he served at first in the regiment of guards, afterwards in the light horse: he then went to Provence, where he was employed by the duke of Guise in his majesty's service. Marshal Biron knew him when he served in the light horse, and attached him to himself on account of his great bravery. After the peace of Savoy, he went into the service of the republic of Venice, where he continued till she made peace with the Pope. He then went to serve in Germany under the duke De Merceur. He again returned to Venice, from whence, after a short stay at Florence and Rome, he came to Naples. In this city he became acquainted with a refugee, named La-Bruyere, who had been a leaguer: by him he was introduced to a jesuit, called father Alagon, uncle to the duke of Lerma, the king of Spain's favourite. This jesuit being desirous to make use of so brave a man in the design that was projected of assassinating Henry IV. joined him with Hébert, marshal Biron's secretary, who has been mentioned in our Memoirs, with Lewis D'Aix, mentioned likewise in the account of the reduction of Marseilles, and with another Provincial, called Roux, all of them French refugees.

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In one of their parties of pleasure Ravallac was introduced to them, who disclosed to them all his designs, and told them that he brought a letter from the duke of Epernon for the viceroy of Naples. La-Garde, having now got sufficient intelligence of every thing that was projecting, went to Zamet, ambassador from France to Venice, to discover all he knew. This ambassador sent him immediately to M. De-Brèves, our ambassador at Rome, and to Zamet, his brother at Paris. De-Brèves gave La-Garde letters for M. de Villeroi, with which he returned to Paris in the train of the duke of Nevers, who at Fontainebleau presented him to his majesty. Henry IV. after telling him that he would take proper measures to render these designs upon his person ineffectual, ordered this officer to accompany the grand marshal of Poland into Germany, and to take care of his interests there. La-Garde, returning to France with advices of great importance from the grand marshal of Poland, was at Francfort informed of the king's death. He retired to Metz greatly indispensed, from whence he followed marshal de La-Chatre to the expedition of Juliers. After the peace, as he was upon his journey to France, he was attacked near the village of Fize by some armed men, who gave him several wounds, and left him for dead in a ditch. La Garde made shift to get to Mézieres, where the duke of Nevers then was, who caused him to be conducted to Paris, where, upon presenting a petition to the king, he obtained the office of comptroller general of Bieres; but, when he least expected such treatment, he was seized and carried to prison. Before judgment was pronounced, which could not but be favourable, because his judges found him absolutely innocent of every thing charged upon him, an exempt came to take him out of prison, and delivered him a brevet for a yearly pension of six hundred livres, and his patent for the office of comptroller-general of Bieres: it appears that he retired to Rouen, and died there.

Another writer of still later date, who has restored the five interrogatories of Ravallac, in the volume of manuscripts marked 192, of the king's library (for the French Mercury mentions only the four last, which are abridged and related in an historical manner, and says not a word of the first) believes that in them may be found proofs that the criminal endeavoured to impose upon his judges, and did not make a full confession; and that his judges, on their side, seemed to be afraid of asking him how he

came to be known to the duke of Epernon. He has not the least doubt of Ravailiac's having been in Italy, although he constantly denied it. The pieces relating to the processes of La-Coman, and captain de La-Garde, seem to him to prove very clearly, that the plot of the parricide was laid at Naples in the year 1608; and that, at one and the same time, they laboured to secure the success of it in Italy, Spain, Flanders, and France. To this he adds, that the duke of Epernon, and the marchioness of Verneuil, met several times at St. Jean en Greve; that they had been heard to say something relating to their scheme, and that Henry IV. himself was informed of it: but that this prince, either through a blind security or an excess of goodness, neglected this information.

Those who have observed that the duke of Sully, in some passages of his Memoirs, confessed that he does not declare all he knows on this subject, may in these words find some grounds for suspicions; but indeed in all these there is nothing sufficiently clear nor positive, to make it allowable, upon such hints, to accuse this or that person; and, at present, the best thing that can be done, is to draw a veil over this mystery of iniquity, and, if possible, to consign for ever to oblivion this shocking period of our history. We ought to take this part, although it were true what some persons are fully persuaded of, that there are two or three cabinets in Paris which are able to throw some new lights upon this fact. Those who are possessed of such papers, are greatly to be praised for concealing them with so much care; and it would be well if they could resolve to consign them to the flames.

Throughout this whole detail, I have not quoted Vittorio Siri; not that he makes no mention of the assassination of Henry IV. and the trial of Ravailiac, *Mem. Recond*, Vol. II. p. 246, but he does it in so negligent a manner, and like a man so ill informed, and even so prejudiced against the person of Henry IV. and his maxims of government, that his testimony deserves to have no weight. I shall only observe here, that it is his opinion absolutely, that Ravailiac had no accomplices.

END of the FOURTH VOLUME.

